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MISS GERTRUDE WOLF
Secretary of the Institute of Fine Arts
from its inception in 1924 until 1957

this volume is affectionately dedicated.

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BRUNELLESCHI'S USE OF PROPORTION IN THE PAZZI CHAPEL*

by DOROTHEA F. NYBERG

In 1429 Brunelleschi applied to the Pazzi Chapel the experience he had gained in proportioning the Sagrestia Vecchia (1420) and San Lorenzo (1420–21).[1] Until Heydenreich's analysis of Brunelleschi's later style, art historians considered it the realization of all Brunelleschi's creative potentiality,[2] so cogent is the building's expression of spatial organization in its centralized plan. As Heydenreich has stated,[3] the tectonic and plastic definition of its space through the use of consistent proportions makes the Pazzi Chapel a summation of Brunelleschi's building and, we must add, proportional experience midway in his artistic development.

In the Sagrestia Vecchia Brunelleschi had attempted, with the geometric and irrational $\sqrt{2}$ proportion of its ground plan and the arithmetical 1:1:1 proportion of its elevation, to organize spatially a centralized building into a new comprehensiveness of proportional consistency.[4] Hampered and still constrained, as was the medieval architect, by the necessity to construct his three-dimensional building with plane geometry, Brunelleschi was unable to think in terms of solid, three-dimensional forms, and in the process of calculating separately the plan and elevation according to entirely different systems, inconsistencies developed. The wall membering, for instance, was determined negatively by the space left over after the main units were related, and the proportioning of horizontal articulating elements—plinth, architrave, and moulding

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[1] C. V. Fabriczy, *Brunelleschi*, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 213 ff.

[2] L. H. Heydenreich, "Spätwerke Brunelleschis", *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII (1931), pp. 1 ff. Cf. also M. Dvořák, *Geschichte der ital. Kunst im Zeitalter der Ren.*, *Akad. Vorlesungen*, I, Munich, 1927, pp. 62 ff., who found in the Pazzi Chapel the achievement of a new style; and Fabriczy, *op. cit.*, who was unable to explain Brunelleschi's late work as a continuation of his earlier development.

[3] Heydenreich, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[4] The choice of the $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle for the plan of the first centralized building of the Renaissance is significant. Unlike the Middle Ages, which often used the $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle for arcade ratios—as Brunelleschi himself had done in the Ospedale degli Innocenti—he used it for the plan because of its static character, due to its connection with the circle-and-square system of symmetry in which a series of circles and squares alternately circumscribe each other so that the diagonal of the smallest square is the length of the side of the next square, and so *ad infinitum*. The mathematical equivalent of $\sqrt{2}$ is 1.414. Cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

below the lantern—were ignored. And from the variety of ratios used, Brunelleschi's under-standing of proportions can be judged immature in the Sagrestia. In San Lorenzo he used a simple arithmetic ratio of $1:2$,[5] and thus applied to his architectural proportioning the fruits of the Florentine extension of mathematics.[6] He was able to create a single, unified system for both plan and elevation, and to relate the entire church to his modular crossing square.[7] How-ever, dimensions as in the Sagrestia Vecchia still exclude mass, with the proportioned units pushed apart to insert the structure of the building. It is still space that concerns Brunelleschi; mass is relegated to the function of enclosure, and nothing more. But because of the use of a simple and consistent arithmetic ratio in San Lorenzo, Brunelleschi here defined the space with a clarity and purpose not found in the earlier building.

The integration of conception attained in the Pazzi Chapel relates not only the plan, elevation and ceiling, but the membering, all parts of the building articulating the other parts, so that Brunelleschi's chapel is perhaps as true an example of Alberti's maxim concerning beauty as any building can be, for the parts are "fitted together with such proportion and connection, that nothing could be added, diminished or altered, but for the worse."[8] The ceiling arrange-ment, with its dome over the large central square of the plan and the segments of barrel vaults flanking it on two sides, is related to the wall articulation of pilasters, while it, in turn, is related to the size of the chancel opening (*fig. 1*). The elements used in the Pazzi Chapel—the melon vault to define a square, a square chancel covered by a dome, the use of pilasters not only deco-ratively but tectonically to define proportions—are the same as those Brunelleschi had used in the Sagrestia Vecchia[9] but now they are bound into a tighter unity, and the complex relation-ships that one can see in the building are variations on one of the most harmonically fertile and yet simple proportions in existence: the "golden section."[10] In the Pazzi Chapel, Brunel-leschi used double golden sections (*fig. 5*).

The dynamic quality of both the golden section and the $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle,[11] which owes its im-portance to the fact that it contains a double golden section, is due to the number of reciprocal ratios contained in these figures. The double golden section contained by the $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle

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[5] *ibid.*, pp. 15 ff.

[6] *ibid.*, pp. 5 f: Paolo Ficozzi in the fourteenth century "laid the basis for a universal system of numeration by dividing numbers into groups of three, and advocating multiplication by tens, thereby introducing the function of the zero." P. Sanpaolesi ("Ipotesi sulle conoscenze matematiche statiche e meccaniche del Brunelleschi," *Belle Arti*, 1951) attributes a first synthesis of mathematics and the figurative arts to Brunelleschi.

[7] The crossing figure has two 20 bracci squares, one on top of the other, forming the basis of the scheme. The Florentine braccia (abbreviated to "b") equals 0.585 meters.

[8] James Leoni, *The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti in Ten Books*, London, 1755, Bk VI, Chap. 2, p. 113.

[9] P. Sanpaolesi, *Brunellesco e Donatello nella Sacrestia Vecchia di San Lorenzo*, Pisa, n.d., p. 18.

[10] I am indebted to L. H. Heydenreich, *op. cit.*, p. 2, for his suggestion that the golden section governs the proportions of the Pazzi Chapel. The golden section is a ratio which divides a line or an area into two parts, so that the first is to the second as the second is to the sum of the first and second. The double golden section, mentioned below, divides a line or an area into three parts, so that the center division, taken with either side, is a single golden section. For geometric constructions, cf. figs. 3 & 4.

[11] For a discussion of the golden section and $\sqrt{5}$ rectangles, cf. Walter D. Teague, *Design This Day*, New York, 1940, pp. 150 ff. The mathematical equivalent of the golden section is $1 : 1.618$ and of $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle, $1 : 2.236$. Both, of course, were irrationals to Brunelleschi.

(*fig. 3*) can be read in both directions (if A, B and C represent three sections respectively, A : B :: B : A+B and C : B :: B : B+C) and if a square is drawn at one end of the rectangles A and C to each side of the square B, two more single golden sections are formed, and so on to infinity. But the $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle also has amazing properties itself. Its height and length are incommensurable—if the end is taken as 1, the side is a repeating fraction. The Greeks found that the side and end are commensurable when squared—the square on the side is 5 times the square on the end. The Greeks, and later Brunelleschi, were able to construct the golden section and $\sqrt{5}$ rectangles geometrically (*figs. 3 & 4*) and thus could make use of their harmonic relationships. Thales, a Greek mathematician born in the 7th century B.C., is said to have discovered that any triangle drawn in a semi-circle with the diameter for its base, is right-angled.[12] The next discovery was that a perpendicular dropped from the apex of the triangle to the base would be the mean between the two sections into which it cut the base.[13] From this method of establishing a constant ratio between the length of lines came the geometrical construction of a double golden section,[14] where a semi-circle is circumscribed about a square and the vertical sides of the square cut the diameter of the semi-circle at two points so that each short end of the diameter is to the side of the square as this length is to their sum (*fig. 3*). The Greeks were also able to divide a line into a single golden section (*fig. 4*). The point E divides the line BC so that if a rectangle is errected on BC with height equal to AB, the areas of the rectangles on BE and EC will be in the same relationship as the segments of the line which form their bases.

Euclid's construction of a golden section first occurs in Book II, proposition 11, where he deals with various divisions of a given line; in Book VI he defines it. Lund concludes that Euclid wanted "to draw attention to its wonderful geometric function"[15] and describes the use Euclid made of the golden section in dealing with areas.[16] The golden section ratio was the harmonic link between the five Platonic bodies,[17] and as such it was in constant use in Greek mathematics. Knowledge of the golden section was probably never lost,[18] and Brunelleschi certainly would have had access to it in the body of treatises that would constitute the major part of his mathematical education, and which would have been available to him in the library of Giovanni dell'Abbaco;[19] Euclid's geometry and Aristotle's mechanics would have provided the very foundation of this education. Thus, Brunelleschi must have known the Greek geometric construction for the golden section rectangle, which was essential to all its harmonic ratios.[20]

In the plan of the Pazzi Chapel (*fig. 5*), Brunelleschi's procedure in creating his proportional relationships can be followed by first analysing the grid formed by drawing a system of strips equal to the width of the wall pilasters (1.21 b) on the plan. This diagrams in convenient form the

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[12] Teague, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[13] For the Pythagorean mean, cf. Sir Thomas Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, Oxford, 1921, p. 85.

[14] Teague, *op. cit.*, pp. 150f.   [15] F. M. Lund, *Ad Quadratum*, London, 1921, pp. 129 ff.

[16] *ibid.*, pp. 131f.   [17] Described in the *Timaeus*, 55D–56C.

[18] Cf. Lund's analysis of its use from antiquity.

[19] Cf. Sanpaolesi, "Ipotesi sulle conoscence matematiche....del Brunelleschi", *op. cit.*

[20] That the Renaissance was aware of this proportional figure is indicated by Paccioli calling it the *proportio divine* and describing it as "ineffabile sopra gli altri excessivo." Kepler, who first found it in plants, called it the *sectio divina*; Leonardo, the *sectio aurea*.

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ratios established by the membering in the elevation (*fig. 1*). The area covered by the melon dome is a square 17.86 b[21] on each side, which contains two double golden sections which form a cross, the one traversing the entire depth of the chapel (17.86 b), the other including the width less one bay together with its strip on either side, that is, less the area covered by a segment of a barrel vault at each extremity of the plan (*fig. 2*). Within these two $\sqrt{5}$ rectangles we find relationships which can be read in two directions—the small square in the very center of the plan, which is aligned in one direction with the entrance vestibule and the chancel, and in the other with the membering on each end wall (*fig. 2*), forms a golden section with the rectangle to each side of it,[22] so that it is part of four different golden sections in cross form (4.89 b : 8.08 b :: 8.08 b : 12.97 b). This means that when one stands in the center of this small square, directly under the melon dome, one is at the heart of four separate relations: this small central area relates to the areas separating it from both the vestibule and the chancel in each case in a golden section proportion, and similarly with comparable areas to either side. In other words, the area between the central square one is in and the chancel relates to the center square as the square relates to the sum of the two, and this same golden section ratio exists for the vestibule, so that at this point all harmonic ratios east and west and north and south are comprehended at once in the three-dimensional space. Each of the narrow rectangles at the ends of the four arms of the cross[23] forms, if instead of including the strip we take the width between strips, a small $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle which potentially contains a double golden section. Thus Brunelleschi conceived the elevation of the Pazzi Chapel when he proportioned its groundplan, for it is an expression of the relationships inherent in the plan. The end bays were added to the 17.86 b square by giving them the same dimensions as the other bays (3.68 b plus 1.21 b for the narrow strip). They have a three-partite division of a linear double golden section in the depth of the chapel. The golden section is used in this instance to divide a line into proportional distances, rather than to establish relationships of area (4.89 b : 8.08 b :: 8.08 b : 12.97 b in both directions).

Every part of the Pazzi plan is incorporated into an organic scheme of proportions that uses reciprocal relationships to set up a series of harmonic overtones, and if we look at the plan of the vestibule and chancel, the nucleus of this system becomes clear. The chancel is a square measuring 8.2 b on each side, and the central bay of the vestibule is also a square of approximately the same dimensions. The chancel square, where the altar was to be placed, was made the nucleus of the plan, and it was exactly balanced by the central bay of the vestibule, so that both squares—chancel and vestibule—were related to the rectangles immediately inside the chapel (measuring 8.08 b in width and 4.89 b in depth) in a single golden section while each of these same rectangles relates to the center square of the plan in another golden section.

[21] Measurements are taken from S. Stegmann and H. Geymüller, *Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*, Band I, München, 1885–93, pp. 20, 21, BL 12. The principal ones follow (in the clear): width of chancel square, 4.80 m; diameter of dome square of interior, 10.45 m; width of each narrow bay, 2.15 m; width of strip (and wall pilasters), 0.71 m; width of central vestibule bay, 4.90 m; width of side vestibule bays, 2.33 m; depth of vestibule, 5.08 m; depth of chapel, 10.45 m; height of chancel dome, 11.00 m; height of chancel pilasters (with capitals and bases), 7.50 m; height from floor of chapel to top of architrave, 8.15 m; height from top of architrave to cornice, 5.60 m; height from cornice to apex of dome, 5.00 m.

[22] Marked on the diagram (fig. 5) by heavy black lines.   [23] Marked on the diagram by dotted lines.

Brunelleschi thus created a truly centralized plan, in which all the harmonies play inwards to the center of the chapel beneath the dome, and yet the directional stress on the chancel from the central bay of the vestibule, which forms a perfect counterpoint to it, clearly defines the chancel as the nucleus—the "key" to the harmony of the entire plan. The chancel and vestibule squares are harmonically reflected in the center square of the plan. The plan of the vestibule mirrors that of the interior, the square central bay forming a golden section with the narrow bay to either side (the bay measurements including the columns—see *fig. 5*), the bay at each end being a $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle (without the columns).

The above analysis of the golden section relationships in Brunelleschi's plan is based on the diagram of grid lines present on the floor of the Pazzi Chapel, if those grid lines marked on the floor (*fig. 2*) are aligned with the width of the wall membering (1.21 b). Whether or not that floor was laid by Brunelleschi himself, an analysis of the proportions leaves no doubt that these relationships were plotted by him step by step. Having discovered these tightly knit relationships, we would, indeed, be hard pressed for an explanation had a grid floor not been used in the Pazzi Chapel. If we consider Brunelleschi's choice of dimensions for the depth of the entire plan (*fig. 5*), we find a resultant ratio of 1 : $\sqrt{5}$ between the depth of the vestibule and the depth of the chapel proper (8.29 b : 17.86 b). This ratio is not an important one itself; rather, it follows from Brunelleschi's consistent use of the double golden section in the interior rectangle. If, for the purpose of our argument, we suppose that Brunelleschi did not make use of the golden section in the interior of his plan, we must admit the extremely unlikely possibility that he went through a long geometric construction of a double golden section in order to construct a $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle (with long side equal to 17.86 b and short side to 8.29 b), and then straightened out his rectangle (with the end dimension fixing the depth of his vestibule)—and all this to establish a ratio which, without the interior harmonies, is meaningless! Brunelleschi's choice of 17.86 b for the diameter of the dome establishes in the same manner the cogent system of proportions underlying the building. The 17.86 b square in the center of the building is fundamental to the golden section ratios of the Chapel, and itself exactly contains the two double golden section rectangles in the form of a cross. Brunelleschi used not only this resilient 17.86 b dimension, but strongly contrasted the dome area to the segments of a barrel vault which flank it. The significance, finally, of his choice of 8.2 b for each side of the chancel square, thus duplicating the 8.08 b square in the center of the larger square, is that he *was* aware of the reciprocal relationships which the dome square contained, for it is exactly this small square which, when placed in the rectangle formed by the length of the large square and the side of the small square on the end (17.86 b and 8.08 b), divides the 17.86 b into a double golden section ratio.

In analysing Brunelleschi's ground plan of the Pazzi Chapel (*fig. 5*), we have shown the width of the grid strips on the floor equal to the width of the pilasters on the wall (1.21 b), while in the actual building as it now stands, the strips are narrower.[24] Since we were using lines which are only hypothetical extensions of the elevation membering, what proof can we find that

[24] Stegmann-Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 21, shows the hypothetical grid system on the floor, taken from the pilaster width (dotted lines).

Brunelleschi planned all the proportions marked on our diagram, and what conclusions can we reach regarding the present floor pavement? Let us note once again the fact that on the plan (*fig. 5*) there is a double golden section formed within the length of 17.86 b by including in the narrow division at each end of the ratio the width of our strip, so that we have 17.86 b divided into 4.89 b, 8.08 b, and 4.89 b segments,[25] but that by omitting these strips, each of the narrow rectangles erected at the two extremeties of our double golden section ($\sqrt{5}$) rectangle is itself a $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle (3.68 b : 8.08 b).[26] Now in order merely to dispose the wall membering as he did (*figs. 1 & 2*), Brunelleschi did not need to understand all our harmonic relationships on the plan—he had to proportion his 17.86 b dimension geometrically by the golden section, but beyond this his understanding of proportions would not necessarily have extended. The double golden section ratio would mark the point at which he was to place the *inside* line of the pilasters, and he was free to make the pilasters as wide as he wished without in any way disturbing the proportional division of the wall. The inside line of the pilasters would still divide the wall so that the length of wall at each extremity was to the center section as the center section was to the length of the extreme and center sections together. We would expect Brunelleschi to choose a simple, even dimension for the width of the pilasters, but he has given them a width of 1.21 b. In the Sagrestia Vecchia he had made each pilaster 1.09 b in width, and this because he had first established the ratios of the clear spaces to each other.[27] In the Pazzi Chapel, Brunelleschi again gave the pilasters an odd dimension (1.21 b) because it would transform the smaller of the two rectangles in each of the golden section relations into a $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle (3.68 b by 8.08 b). But these small $\sqrt{5}$ rectangles are not evident on the walls. They could have been so related by Brunelleschi only on the floor, in the grid system we have been discussing.

From these deductions, it is evident that Brunelleschi's conception of proportions encompassed all of the harmonic relationships in the ground plan. Because of the clarity of the building's system of proportions in diagrammatic form on the floor, evidence certainly indicates that Brunelleschi was not only aware of the intricacy of spatial harmonies produced by the golden section system of proportions, but planned to represent them on the floor. It also makes virtually impossible an attribution of the present, narrow grid of lines to him, for their narrow dimension (*fig. 1*) makes them irrelevant in an otherwise tightly ordered proportional conception. Alberti was later to recommend that the composition of lines on the pavement of a building be full of musical and geometric proportions;[28] it would seem that Brunelleschi had the same thing in mind when he designed the Pazzi Chapel.

The elevation of the Pazzi Chapel was worked out on the same scheme as the plan, the golden section ratio being used to establish principal proportions, but the system was not carried beyond the predominant relationships. The rectangle of the chancel which stands on its square plan (8.2 b on each side)—the nucleus of the entire plan—is 18.8 b high, giving it a $\sqrt{5}$, or double golden section, proportion. The pilasters of the chancel (12.86 b high with bases and capitals) form a $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle with the depth of the chancel, and with the importance of the

[25] In the cruciform double golden sections shown in heavy lines on the diagram.
[26] Shown with dotted lines on the diagram.   [27] Cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 13.   [28] Alberti, *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, Chap. 10.
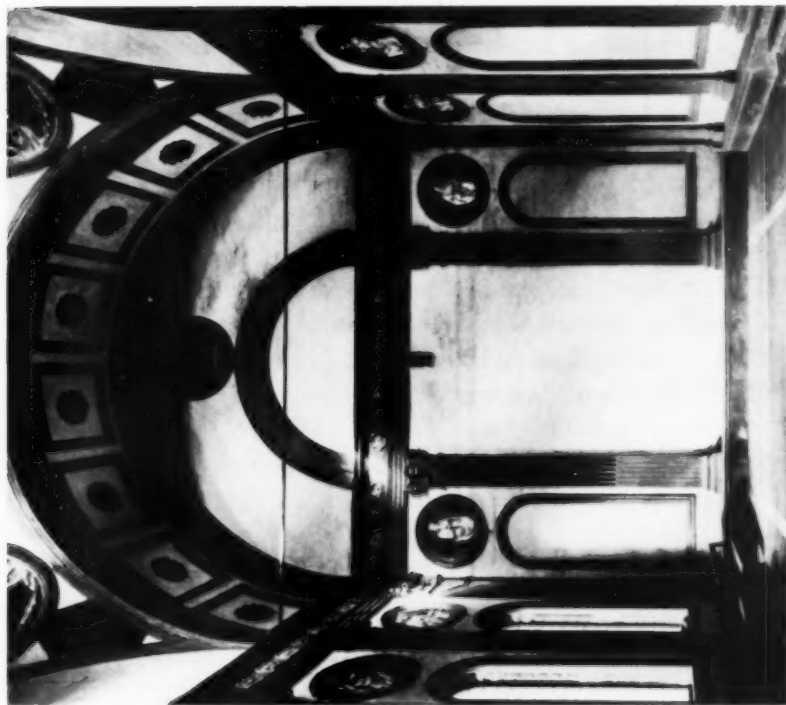
Fig. 2. Brunelleschi, Pazzi Chapel, *Florence.* *(Photo: Rollie McKenna).*
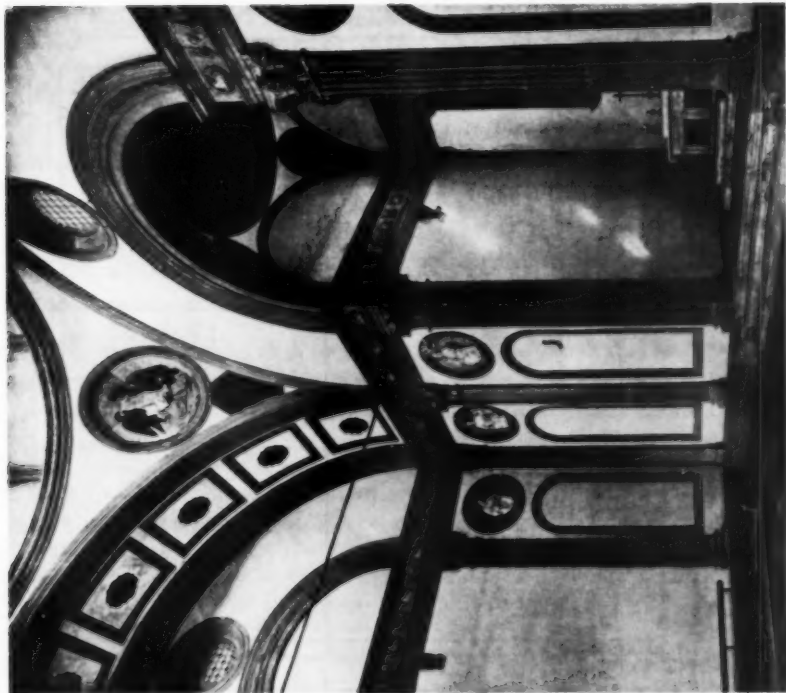
Fig. 1. Brunelleschi, Pazzi Chapel, *Florence.*
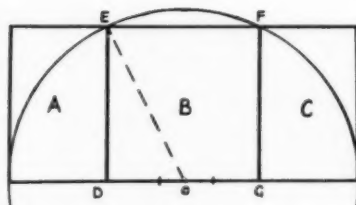
GIVEN : SQ. DEFG
BISECT DG AT O
WITH RADIUS OE DESCRIBE CIRCLE
EXTEND DG TO CUT CIRCLE
COMPLETE RECTS. A & C

$$\frac{A}{B} = \frac{B}{A+B} \qquad \& \qquad \frac{C}{B} = \frac{B}{B+C}$$

Fig. 3. Construction of the Double
Golden Section.

GIVEN :
∠ ABC = 90° & BC = 2 AB
MAKE :
AD = AB & CE = CD
THEN :
$$\frac{BE}{EC} = \frac{EC}{BC} = \frac{1}{1.618}$$

Fig. 4. Construction of the Golden Section.
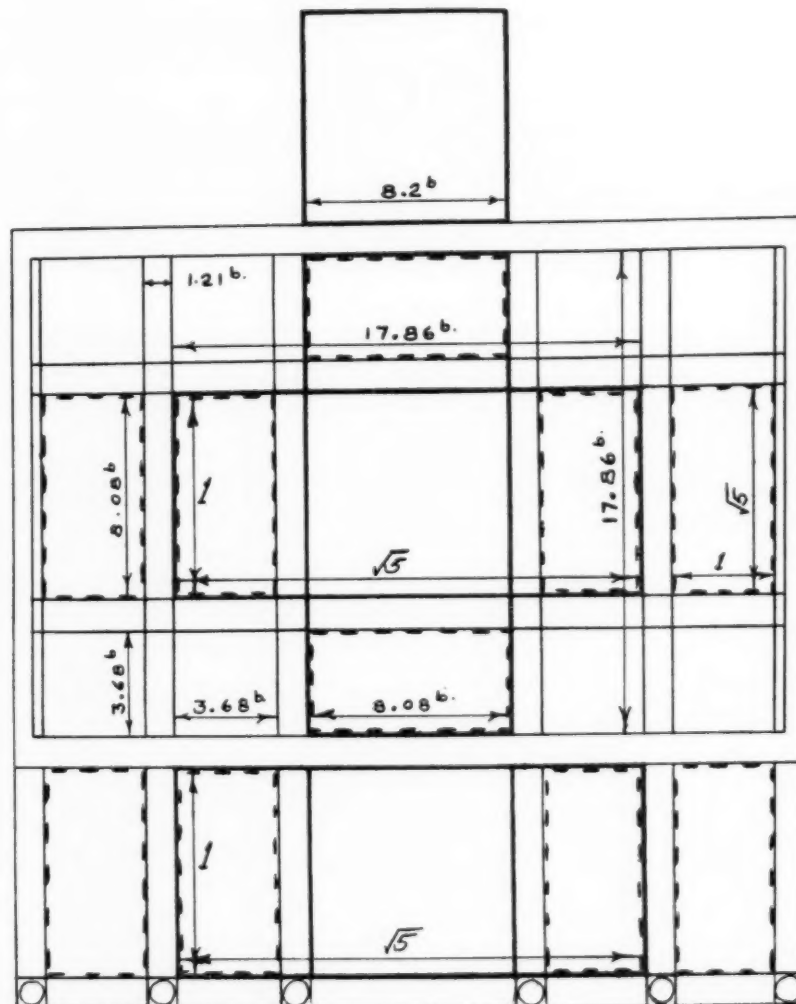
Fig. 5. Ground plan of the Pazzi Chapel

chancel in mind, Brunelleschi fixed the height of the pedestal in the chapel at the floor level of the chancel. The first and second stories of the interior elevation of the chapel are related in height in a golden section proportion; in other words, Brunelleschi used the golden section proportion to determine the top of the architrave which separates these two stories and the bottom of the cornice which begins the dome (first story, 15.05 b; second story, 9.57 b; thus, 9.57 b : 15.05 b :: 15.05 b : 24.62 b). The height of the dome story was determined by its diameter (17.86 b), and is, therefore, 8.54 b.

Brunelleschi succeeded in making the golden section ratio govern both his plan and elevation. It is not surprising that where he wanted a squat, rectangular proportion in smaller divisions, he used the practical $\sqrt{2}$ figure which he had established in the chancel pilasters. It is also found in the center bay of the vestibule (8.38 b wide to 11.42 b high to the top of the capitals), mirroring its use in the chancel,[29] and even in the rectangular entablature divisions of the facade (3.93 b wide to 5.29 b high).

In the Pazzi Chapel the proportional possibilities of the Sagrestia Vecchia were fully realized. The golden section with its complex harmonies determined and unified the relationships of both plan and elevation, wher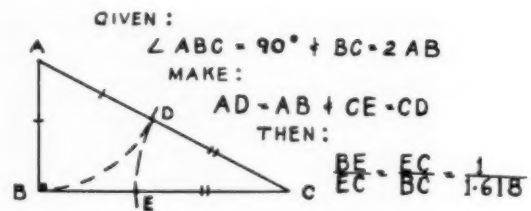eas in the Sagrestia the proportions of the main room had to serve as intermediary between the independent horizontal and vertical systems.[30] The chancel, where the altar was to be placed, was made the module for the plan of the Chapel, a more logical scheme than the one used in the Sagrestia. As in the Sagrestia, the pilasters of the chapel were placed on a plinth level with the floor of the chancel, but in the Pazzi Chapel the great intricacies of the interlocking relationships between vestibule and chapel, and chapel and chancel, produce a synthesis of parts only faintly suggested in the Sagrestia Vecchia. Finally, the dimensions of both buildings are taken in the clear, evidence that although Brunelleschi's treatment of the Pazzi Chapel is more plastic than that of his earlier building, he is still unaware of the implications of mass and its relationship to volume. Through his use of the golden section and $\sqrt{5}$ rectangle, he did become aware, however, of the possibilities for integrating into the proportional system the actual structure of his buildings, a fact most remarkably evident in that crucial 1.21 b of the wall membering. The deep, resonant harmonies of S. Maria degli Angeli and Sto. Spirito largely result from the inclusion of the mass within the system of proportions.[31] It is the Pazzi Chapel which marks the beginning of this development toward the free partnership of mass and space in Brunelleschi's architecture.

[29] Brunelleschi's use of the $1 : \sqrt{2}$ ratio in the arcade of the Ospedale degli Innocenti was very different: he took the narrow side of the $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle from axis to axis of the columns, and made the columns, to the top of the capital, form a square with the width of his bay, so that the $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle fixed the height of the arch (10 b : 14½ b; $1:\sqrt{2}$). This procedure agrees with his method of arriving at proportions in the Innocenti, for he placed the columns axially, and *then* switched to clear measurements.

[30] The main room (20 b square) is the nucleus of the Sagrestia's plan—the side of the square is to the length of the entire Sagrestia (with chancel included) as $1:\sqrt{2}$; the elevation consists of three 10 b tiers, giving a 1:1:1 ratio. Each elevation unit is thus in a 1:2 ratio with the side of the nucleus square.

[31] This cannot be over-emphasized in the development of Brunelleschi's mature style. For his use of proportions in S. Maria degli Angeli, cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff; for Sto. Spirito, pp. 38 ff. Cf. also Part III, "Synthesis," pp. 44 ff.

THE
ICONOGRAPHY OF THE MADONNA DEL PARTO*

by CAROLINE FEUDALE

Paintings of the Madonna of Expectation, known as the *Madonna del Parto* in Italian art, portray that period in the Madonna's life between the time of the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ. It is a way of showing the Incarnation in iconic and devotional form and gives particular emphasis to the Virgin's condition of pregnancy. In Italy, the motif of the Madonna del Parto is among the rarest and least used subjects in the iconography of the Virgin. The obscurity of the subject may perhaps explain why such a student of Italian art as Venturi[1] or such an historian of sources of the Christian image as Mâle[2] have neglected it. Perhaps, too, the lack of a specific and definitive study is due to the absence or loss of a large-scale prototype of formative significance. Whatever the reason, it is possible to assemble and group a number of these representations as they have appeared in various publications, and to study the problem of the image and its relation to certain concepts of medieval Mariology.

The best known portrayal of the Madonna del Parto is, of course, the fresco in the Chapel of the Cemetery of Monterchi, outside Borgo San Sepolcro, attributed in part or in whole to Piero della Francesca (*fig. 1*).[3] In the center of the composition stands the Virgin flanked by

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* The material in this article forms part of a single chapter of my Master's thesis which investigates some stylistic sources of Piero della Francesca. For many of the Trecento examples of the Madonna del Parto cited in this discussion, I am particularly indebted to material collected in Dr. Richard Offner's *Corpus of Florentine Painting*.

[1] A. Venturi, *La Madone: Représentations de la vierge dans l'art italien*, Paris, n.d.

[2] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1928; idem., *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1931; idem., *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age en France*, Paris, 1925.

[3] No documents exist for this fresco, thus giving rise to the problems regarding both the date and extent of Piero's participation. Since the earliest notice of the fresco at the end of the 19th century when it was rediscovered and published by I. V. Funghini ("Scoperta d'un pregevole dipinto a Monterchi, Prov. di Arezzo," *Arte e Storia*, VIII, 1889, p. 23), criticism has differed concerning both questions. The majority of the earlier critics, following Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*A History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1914, VI, p. 27, note), believed it to be the work of Lorentino d'Arezzo. Contemporary criticism is sharply divided: Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 455) considers it to be partly by Piero; Longhi (*Piero della Francesca*, 2nd ed., Milan, 1942, p. 177); Van Marle (*The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1929, XI, pp. 63–65), and Clark (*Piero della Francesca*, London, 1951, p. 206) believe the Madonna is by Piero and the remaining portions are by Lorentino; Offner (*A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, New York, 1930, V, p. 28, note 1) characterizes the fresco as having been painted in Piero's shop.

The work is variously dated by those who see Piero's hand in the execution: Venturi (*Piero della Francesca*,

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two angels, drawn in smaller scale, who are mirror images one of the other and who are shown in the act of pulling back the flaps of a richly brocaded tent. The curtains forming the walls of the tent are hung from a superstructure that defines the setting as an area of great circular dimension. The attention of the spectator is drawn to the Virgin's state of pregnancy, stressed by the fullness of her form and the gestures of her hands. The Virgin turns slightly to the left. Her head, with hair pulled back tightly and bound by plaited bands, is turned to a three-quarter position; her expression is pensive and withdrawn.

Curiously enough, the iconography of this fresco has not received the attention shown to other works by Piero such as the Urbino *Flagellation* or the Brera *Madonna and Child*. A recent study contents itself merely with recalling a folk legend of uncertain origin which sees the painting as a sentimental tribute to the artist's mother.[4] More general considerations, which are applicable as well to the subject of the Monterchi image, have sought to derive the theme of the Expectation Madonna, wherever it appears, from the imagery suggested by the Apocalypse XII, 1–2.[5] These two verses contain the wellknown *mulier amicta sole*, the "....woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars; And being with child, she cried travailing in birth, and was in pain to be delivered." This passage has already been convincingly connected by historians with other iconography— specifically with the Madonna of Humility[6] and the Immaculate Conception.[7] On the other hand, the connection of this somewhat overworked Biblical text with the image of the Madonna of Expectation is, at best, applicable only in part, despite the fact that identification of these verses with the Virgin is a commonplace of medieval thinking.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the image of the Madonna del Parto evolves from a broader tradition as well as from philosophical concepts which are frequently contemporary with the paintings. In order to establish the hypothesis which will be developed as the central argument of this study, several principal concepts should be presented here. The iconography of the Madonna del Parto, and more specifically the image as known in extant Italian examples, is intelligible on several levels of meaning. The most obvious of these is determined from the delineation of the Virgin's body by which she is shown as the expectant Mother of God. Nevertheless, this devotional image is only partly concerned with representing the Incarnation, for it is also a portrayal of the Virgin under her special aspect as Co-Redemptrix of mankind by reason of her consent to bear Christ. From this idea follows her special and well-known role as *Mater omnium*, the Mother of mankind, and the chief intercessor before the throne of God. Finally, the image shows the Mother of God in her most glorified state, namely, that of her eternal incorruptibility proceeding from the miraculous maternity, and this comprises,

Florence, 1921–1922, p. 35) considers it an early work close to the *Misericordia* altar of Borgo San Sepolcro and, therefore, of the later 1440's; Longhi (*loc. cit.*) places it in the same period as the Arezzo cycle in the 50's; while Clark (*loc. cit.*) regards it as a work of the 60's.

[4] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[5] This interpretation is offered by Offner (*loc. cit.*) with reference to two panels to be discussed below.

[6] M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 133–155.

[7] Mâle, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1925, pp. 210–211.

therefore, her Assumption as well. Some of these meanings will become more evident if the extant images are examined from the point of view that what is intended is a portrayal of the Virgin glorified in body by the maternity and glorified in soul by the bodily assumption.

We will now turn to the works of art. The Monterchi fresco, notwithstanding its progressive style, represents the final major evocation of a compositional tradition of secondary development and dimension. Indeed, it is noteworthy that here, in the mid-Quattrocento, Piero chooses to revive a motif already discarded by a whole generation of painters. Judging from the extremely few Italian survivals, the type of the Madonna del Parto, after its initial development in the Trecento, makes but a brief appearance in North Italian painting of the Quattrocento. Some of the Tuscan Trecento prototypes have been assembled or are cited by Offner, one of the earliest being a provincial panel (*fig. 2*) in Sta. Maria in Campo, Florence, attributed to the Master of San Martino alla Palma.[8] This composition contains several important elements. The Virgin is portrayed as a standing figure in an almost frontal position. She wears a round-necked gown with the drapery so arranged as to reveal the fullness of form while, at the same time, an enveloping mantle partly conceals it. The knotted girdle worn high about the waist is a motif symbolizing Mary's virginity,[9] while the book in her hand alludes to her fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaias (VII, 14): "....Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emanuel." The tent isolates the central figure and refers to the role of the Virgin as the holy shrine or "Ark of the Covenant."

The second of these works, the mutilated mid-Trecento fresco (*fig. 3*) recently restored and returned to its original place in San Lorenzo, Florence,[10] has been attributed on style to Nardo di Cione, the brother of Orcagna,[11] or to the derivative style of Niccolò di Tommaso.[12] Here the Virgin stands in an almost frontal position within a circular enclosure, and by the gesture of her hands the fullness of her body is partly concealed. She holds a book in her left hand, and with her right she draws a veil across her breast; under her enveloping cloak she wears a simple, round-necked dress which, however, is without the encircling belt. In the present state of the fresco it is not possible to determine whether the composition once included additional figures such as donors or assisting angels.

These two pictures are entirely representative of a composition which, notwithstanding modifications (particularly of gesture), is retained in all its basic essentials in the later development of the iconography.

A third panel of the early fourteenth century, the so-called *Madonna della Ninna* (*fig. 4*) from the church of S. Piero Scheraggio and now in the Academy of Florence, likewise attributed to the Master of San Martino alla Palma, may also represent a Madonna del Parto.[13] Although not heretofore connected with the Expectation iconography, this composition nevertheless contains many of the motifs that can be associated with the type. There is the characteristic

[8] Offner, *op. cit.*, V, p. 28, note 1; illus, *ibid.*, Pl. V.

[9] Cf. H. Thurston, "Cincture," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1908, III, p. 776.

[10] U. Baldini, "Note breve su inediti toscani," *Bollettino d'arte*, XL, 1955, p. 80.

[11] *loc. cit.*   [12] Offner, *loc. cit.*

[13] *Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca di Firenze del 1937*, Florence, pl. 176a; also text facing.

posture; the mantle covering head and shoulders; the gown of typical fashion (in this case enhanced by embroidery) though again without the belt; the book; the gesture of the hand with an even more open reference to the Incarnation in the way the flat palm is placed directly against the body. One other significant motif should be noted: two flying angels hold a jewelled crown over the head of the Virgin. Thus, the theme of the Coronation is introduced into the iconography. As used here, the crown enhances the devotional implications of the portrayal and also combines within a single image two of the major mysteries associated with different periods of the life of the Virgin: her earthly glorification in the miraculous Incarnation; her eternal glorification by her Coronation in heaven. The composition emerges, therefore, as an image of symbolic as well as representational function in which reference is made to two widely separated and apparently disparate moments in the life of the Virgin.

These three panels, two by the Master of San Martino alla Palma and the third by Niccolò di Tommaso are apparently the only extant Trecento portrayals of the full-length, standing figure of the Madonna del Parto. Whether the composition as used in Italy originates with the Master of San Martino alla Palma, or whether this master reflects a major archetype unknown today, is impossible to ascertain from published examples. Nevertheless, there is some indication that the major impetus may have been given by Bernardo Daddi, of whom the San Martino Master is a follower, especially since it is possible to associate the full-length type of the Madonna del Parto with the half-length type of which two examples are known to me. The first (*fig. 5*) is a panel attributed to the close following of Daddi, dated 1334, in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence;[14] the second (*fig. 6*), bearing a similar attribution and closely related in composition and style, is the panel of the so-called *Magnificat* in the Vatican Pinacoteca.[15] Both panels apparently portray the Madonna of Expectation. Although the figures are half-length, the disposition of the folds of the mantle suggests a seated position. The two works, despite their obvious similarity, vary in some details: the panel in Florence shows a bordered gown slashed at the side to permit ease of body; while both figures hold an open book, the inscription on the Vatican panel, taken from Luke (I, 46–48) beginning with "*Magnificat anima mea...*" refers to the canticle of the Visitation wherein Mary openly proclaims the Incarnation and her own Exaltation.

The tradition of the Trecento, as expressed in the above instances, undergoes a limited development in the Quattrocento. Again the surviving examples are few. Only three Tuscan portrayals of the Madonna del Parto are known to me through their publication by Offner: a panel (*fig. 7*) by Rosello di Iacopo Franchi in the Uffizi; and two Orcagnesque panels, one in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole, and the other (*fig. 8*) in the Vatican Pinacoteca.[16] It is note-

[14] Offner, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 50 and Pl. XXII.
[15] Offner, *ibid.*, Pl. XXIII; Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 212.
[16] Offner, *op. cit.*, V, p. 28, note 1. The Fiesole panel is mentioned but as yet not published by Offner. Mr. Howard Saalman has recently supplied me with a photograph of the picture. This is the only panel to my knowledge containing direct reference to the Virgin as the "woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." Of major iconographic significance is the fact that the halo surrounding head and crown is inscribed REGINA CELI.

worthy that the Uffizi panel bears the name *Regina Coeli* and that the title, combined with the subject, implies an interrelated symbolism comparable to the Trecento iconography which combines the ideas of earthly and heavenly glorification. Nor does the Vatican panel bear the title of Madonna del Parto; it is called instead *Maria Madre delle Virtù*, a name which describes more precisely an image wherein the personifications of the Virtues are included. The Uffizi and Vatican panels reintroduce the knotted belt which, together with the gesture seen in the latter panel, continue to emphasize the two-fold aspect of Mary's virginity and maternity. Now, in contrast to the earlier tradition, the head of the Virgin is left uncovered and the mantle when shown falls from the shoulders. Paintings of the Madonna del Parto from the fifteenth century continue the fashion established here.

Portrayals of the Madonna of Exceptation are also found in North Italian painting of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Here, however, the image derives from another iconographic tradition which represents her as a full-length, seated figure. There is the Madonna in the central panel of the *Polyptych* of 1428 (*fig. 9*) in the Verona Gallery, attributed to the school of Stefano da Verona, not heretofore connected with the subject of the Exceptation; a second example is the *Madonna del Parto* (*fig. 10*) from the church of Sta. Caterina in Venice, now in the Academy.[17] The latter is perhaps earlier than the *Polyptych* but has been variously dated at the end of the fourteenth or in the early fifteenth century and attributed to an unknown Bolognese[18] or Venetian master.[19] In both pictures, the Madonna sits upon a low, backless throne. There is a rich fabric extended by angels across the background in the panel in Venice, whereas a more ordinary stuff is seen in the Verona panel. In both pictures the mantle falls from the shoulders of the Virgin and the folds are gathered over the knees. The inscription on the open book in the Venice panel makes a specific reference to the theme with the words: MATER. AVE. $\overline{\text{XPI}}$. SANCTISIMA. VIRGO. MARIA. PARTU. Both compositions represent the Virgin wearing the crown of her glorification.

About a half century after the Sta. Caterina *Madonna del Parto* and the last Tuscan prototypes showing the standing Virgin, the Monterchi fresco (*fig. 1*), painted in part by Piero della Francesca, quotes a composition which may be characterized as archaistic in the second half of the century.[20] Despite the similarities in composition to the earlier tradition, there is one basic difference to be noted, namely, the greater emphasis upon the physical condition of the Virgin. This increased humanization of sacred personages conforms to advancing Renaissance concepts as well as to the volumetric tendencies of the painter's style. The Virgin's posture and gestures are such as to focus attention on the swelling of the body; the omission of the traditional mantle, which formerly had partly concealed the body, serves the same function.

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[17] V. Moschini, "Una tavola bolognese del tardo trecento," *Miscellanea di storia dell'arte in onore di Igino Benvenuto Supino*, Florence, 1933, pp. 229–232.

[18] *ibid.*, p. 230.

[19] L. Coletti, *Pittura veneta del quattrocento*, Novara, 1953, pl. 2.

[20] Evelyn (sic) (*Piero della Francesca*, Città di Castello, 1912, p. 125) notes that the Monterchi composition was painted over a Trecento work. Although fragments of the older work are supposedly still to be seen in the Chapel, I have been unable to secure photographs of them. The older work may well contain an additional clue on the artist's relationship to an earlier provincial tradition.

The head of the Virgin is uncovered and the hair pulled back tightly. The angels, though still diminished in scale, are given greater prominence by being brought to the foreground where they are shown withdrawing the flaps of a tent to reveal the Virgin to the worshipper.

It is interesting to note that although the Expectation subject falls into almost complete disuse in mid-fifteenth century Italy, the theme is found in the North in the *Expectant Madonna with St. Joseph* (*fig. 11*), a panel from the School of Amiens, dated ca. 1437, and now in the Kress Collection, Washington. Origin and derivation are open to question, as is the problem of a possible relation with Italy; in any case, the Amiens master seems to derive his style from the great Flemish painters, and his subject from the similar motif of the Expectant Virgin as used in two panels of the *Visitation* (in Lützchena and Turin) by Roger van der Weyden. Like the Monterchi fresco, all of these works reveal an interest in naturalism; in contrast, however, they show certain narrative and discursive tendencies not found in the more strongly iconic image in Italy.

The Monterchi *Madonna del Parto* must belong to an iconographic tradition of Italian origin, and a related meaning is suggested for all the works. Any additional meaning, growing from the changing concepts of a new age, merely enhances the basic devotional function of the given image. This is the case in the Monterchi *Madonna del Parto*. As suggested above, this type of the Expectation Madonna is only partly concerned with portraying the Incarnation; more exactly it seeks to portray the Virgin in her most glorified state of soul and body in which the earthly glorification is seen in the motif of Expectation and the heavenly in the Coronation. The latter carries with it the notion of the Assumption and of physical incorruptibility. The image is a visual illustration, therefore, of several major mysteries of the life of the Virgin. Such interrelationship is at least partly implied in the use of the crown and the knotted girdle, to mention but two of the more important elements. Furthermore, it becomes obvious that a more complex meaning is intended than that generally suggested by the traditional title of Madonna del Parto. The compositional details, together with the more appropriate titles by which some of the works are known,—*Regina Coeli*, *Maria Madre delle Virtù*, or *Magnificat*—imply a literary point of reference and, indeed, a strong connection with medieval thought. For without reference to theological writings it would be impossible to explain such visually disparate iconography as the Coronation within a context supposedly intended merely as a portrayal of the Expectation of the Virgin.

Indeed, such a connection between the maternity and the Assumption is in strict accordance with the tendency of early Christian thought to interrelate religious mysteries, that is, to find in one a reflection or fulfillment of the other. Thus, the Assumption is always the complementary concept of the virginal maternity. By this system of parallelism, the early theologians were able to demonstrate the *reasonableness*, if not the absolute logical certainty, of the mystery of the Assumption and, also, the guarantee of Mary's bodily incorruptibility. In essence the dogmatic question posed was: "How dare corruption attack her who has given us *Life*?"[21]

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[21] This quotation, from the *Discourses* of the 8th century Eastern church father, John of Damascene, is taken from a longer excerpt translated from the Greek into French and cited by J. B. Terrien, *La mère de Dieu et la*

The solution may be summarized: Mary's Assumption is assured by the maternity of which it is a necessary result, and, in a related fashion, Mary's escape from bodily disintegration is seen as the inevitable consequence of her virginity and immaculate conception as well.[22] In dogmatic literature the subject *de partu virginis* is almost never treated as an isolated study.[23] Rather it appears principally in association with other mysteries it fulfills, implies, or prophesizes in the life of the Virgin or demonstrates in the life of her Son.

In its doctrinal and historical aspects, the problem has been studied by two scholars of the early twentieth century: the French Jesuit theologian, Jean-Baptist Terrien[24] and the Benedictine, Paul Renaudin.[25] Both writers point out a two-fold derivation for the tradition that links the mystery of the Assumption with the maternity. The origin, first of all, is not traceable to the Bible which makes no specific or open reference to Mary either in her state of expectancy or in her glorification. This is not to deny the symbolism uncovered in certain passages, especially of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse. These, however, will be discussed presently in connection with the expanding theological interpretations of the Middle Ages. The origin of this parallel between the Assumption and the maternity is rather to be found in such unrelated sources as the apocryphal narratives and in a dogmatic tradition deriving from the patristic writings of the Eastern church. The apocryphal source is found in the account of *de transitu virginis*, ascribed to the pseudo-Miletus of the fourth or fifth century.[26] These narratives, presupposing rather than creating the tradition,[27] take into account all the several aspects: immortal life is rendered to Mary in exchange for the mortal life she gave to Christ. Thus, for instance, Christ says to Peter at the time of Mary's death:

> "Now this woman did I choose...to dwell in her. What then will ye that I do with her? Then said Peter and the other apostles: Lord thou didst before choose this thine handmaid to become thine immaculate chamber... If therefore it might come to pass before the power of thy grace, it hath appeared right to us thy servants that, as thou having overcome death

mère des hommes d'apres les pères et la théologie, II, Paris, 1950, p. 371. The translation into English is my own. The whole passage is noteworthy since it presents the essential dogmatic points that will accumulate within the patristic tradition of the East and West with a maximum degree of unanimity: "...Comment la corruption oserait-elle attaquer celle qui nous a donné la *Vie*? ... De même que vous êtes demeurée vierge, tout en devenant mère, ainsi votre corps, tout en souffrant l'atteinte de la mort, ne s'est pas dissous comme les nôtres; par une transformation merveilleuse, il est devenu ce tabernacle divin sur lequel la mort n'aura jamais aucune prise, et que demeurera vivant aux siècles des siècles."

[22] See note 21, *loc. cit.*

[23] I have found but one instance in which the subject is isolated from any association with the mysteries it prefigures or foretells. This is in a discourse disproving certain heresies concerning the nature of Christ given in the 9th century by Paschasius, "Opusculum de partu virginis" (J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vallensis, 1854 CXXX, Cols. 1365–1368). See also, *Cath. Encycl.*, XV, p. 448 for further bibliography.

[24] *op. cit.*

[25] P. Renaudin, "La définibilité de l'Assomption de la très sainte viêrge," *Revue Thomiste*, X, 1902. Other, more recent studies are also of value; cf. especially J. Duhr, *The Glorious Assumption of the Mother of God*, New York, 1950. For a briefer discussion, cf. J. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, London, 1912, pp. 331–349.

[26] F. G. Holweck, "Assumption," *Cath. Encyc.*, II, p. 6. Belief in the corporeal Assumption can also be found in the apocryphal treatise *De obitu S.Dominae* bearing the name of St. John (*loc. cit.*) which also belongs, however, to the fourth or fifth century.

[27] For a discussion of the primacy of the patristic tradition over the apocryphal, see Duhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.

dost reign in glory, so thou shouldst raise up the body of thy mother and take her with thee rejoicing in heaven. Then said the Savior: Be it done according to your will. And he commanded Michael the archangel to bring the soul of the holy Mary. And behold, Michael the archangel rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and the Lord said: Rise up, my love and my kinswoman: thou that didst not suffer corruption by union of the flesh, shall not suffer dissolution of the body in thy sepulchre...And the Lord...delivered her to the angels to bear her into paradise."[28]

The more authoritative doctrinal aspects of the problem develop at the same time as such legends surrounding the life of Mary. The earliest indication of the parallelism that associates the maternity with the Assumption in extant Christian dogmatic literature occurs among the discourses of the Eastern church in the 78th Chapter of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius (†402).[29] Here the author, in defending Mary's virginity against her would-be detractors, uses this virtue to demonstrate the Assumption of which it is a necessary prerequisite. Epiphanius' work is considered the significant source for the evolution of the belief. Later, Eastern fathers extend the thought by exalting the combined mysteries of the maternity and virginity as the origin of Mary's eternal glory and incorruptibility. One example, typical of the devotional imagery, is from the *Sermons on the Dormition* by Germanus († 740) in a passage which enhances the concepts by metaphoric language:

"It was impossible that this virginial body should continue to dwell within the sepulchre of the dead, this vase wherein God Himself was enclosed, this temple animated by the most holy divinity of the Only Son...It is true, you have disappeared from the midst of men; but that was to confirm by your death the reality of the adorable mystery of the Word incarnate...It was impossible that this vase of your body, that was filled with God, should return to dust as ordinary flesh...A beloved child desires the presence of his mother, and the mother, in her turn, aspires to dwell with her child. It is therefore right that you whose heart is filled with love for God should ascend towards your Son, the fruit of your womb; right also that God, in filial affection for his mother, should call her towards Him so she might live intimately with Him...You have been the house of flesh wherein He reposed; in His turn, oh glorious Virgin, the place of your rest will be in this flesh, oh Mother of God, which He received from you...Therefore, He draws you to Him, freed from all corruption, desiring, if I may so express myself, to gather you close to His lips, to His heart."[30]

Later tradition continues to develop the belief as outlined within this two-fold tradition of dogma and legend conveyed in narrative form. Thus, for example, it is found in the works of other eighth-century writers such as Andrew of Crete, John Damascene, Modestus of Jerusalem,

[28] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 215-216.

[29] Duhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

[30] Terrien, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-366. The English translations in the present discussion are my own. The footnotes contain the original texts only when translation was made from the original language and not from a secondary translation.

to name but a few.[31] In the later centuries, the Eastern tradition was transmitted in its entirety and with no essential changes into the theological concepts of the Western church. Accordingly, the Latin writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Sts. Peter Damian, Anselm, and Peter of Blois, as well as Bernard of Clairvaux), who concern themselves with the problem of the Assumption, demonstrate its reasonableness by means of the same parallel.[32] Unanimity of opinion is also found in the later discourses of the thirteenth-century theologian-saints Bonaventura, Albert the Great, and Thomas of Aquinas; in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century writers Durandus, Gerson, Antoninus of Florence, and Bernardino of Siena.[33]

The Western church writers, however, seek further justification for Mary's Assumption and for its parallelism with the mystery of her maternity within the allegorical references of the Bible. Thus, the Canticle of Canticles, certain of the Psalms of the Old Testament, as well as Chapters XI and XII of the Apocalypse are considered to prefigure and symbolize the Virgin under these special aspects.[34] The characteristic imagery resulting from the commentaries upon these and other passages is expressed in its most sublime, devotional, and poetic fashion in the *Discourses* of the twelfth-century doctor, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux who adds a new richness of interpretation to the traditional and usual arguments. For example, in the second sermon *in adventu Domini*, he says:

"For a Virgin is the fruitful twig, the flower her Son. Truly the Son of the Virgin is the flower, the white and ruddy blossom, *selected out of thousands* (Cantic. V, 10), the blossom which the angels desire to behold, the blossom at whose fragrance the dead flourish again, and, as it was foretold, He is the *flower of the field* (Cantic. II, 1) and not the flower of a garden enclosed, for the field flowers without human aid, is unsown by anyone, undug by the hoe, nor is it enriched with nourishment. So blossomed the womb of the Virgin, thus inviolate, whole, and chaste...whose beauty will not suffer corruption, whose glory will never diminish. Oh Virgin, lofty stem, to what exalted height dost thou attain? even to Him who sitteth upon the throne, unto the Lord of Majesty. Nor is this strange, since thou sendest deeply into the ground the roots of thy humilty."[35]

Elsewhere, in the sermon *in assumptione B. Mariae*, the same parallelism of the maternity and ultimate glorification is achieved, this time by reference to the Psalms:

[31] Holweck, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[32] Renaudin, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–203; for a complete bibliography of the pertinent works by the writers mentioned see *ibid.*, pp. 197–200.

[33] *loc. cit.*

[34] Renaudin, *ibid.*, pp. 45–46; Hirn *op. cit.*, pp. 335–336.

[35] Migne, *op. cit.*, CLXXXIII, cols. 42–43: "Quoniam Virgo genitrix virga est, flos Filius ejus. Flos utique Filius Virginis, *flos candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus* (Cantic. V, 10) flos in quem prospecere desiderant angeli, flos ad cujus odorem reviviscunt mortue, et sicut ipse testatur, *flos campi est* (Cantic. II, 1), et non horti Campus enim sine omni humano floret adminiculo, non seminatus ab aliquo, non defossus sarculo, non impinguatus fimo. Sic omnino, sic Virginis alvus floruit, sic inviolata, integra et casta Mariae viscera, tanquam pascua aeterni vivoris florem protulere; cujus pulchritudo non videat corruptionem, cujus gloria in perpetuum non marcescat. O Virgo, virga sublimis, in quam sublime verticem sanctum erigis! usque ad Sedentem in throno, usque ad Dominum majestatis. Neque enim id mirum, quoniam in altum mittis radices humiltatis..."

"This is my rest forever, here will I dwell, for I have chosen it (Psal. CXXXI, 14). He dwelt within her for nine months. He dwelt with her and under her for many years...Now, however, dwelling to eternity in her and with her...He fills her with the glory of the Beatific Vision...[36]

Extant paintings offer no pictorial equivalent to this rich literary tradition. Nevertheless, it is possible to indicate a single instance in Italian art which may portray a related subject. The *Madonna with Sts. Praxedis and Pudentiana* in the crypt of S. Prassede, Rome (variously dated from the ninth to the eleventh centuries and until now of unsettled iconography),[37] may well be clarified by comparing it with the imagery evoked in the texts cited above. Here the Virgin is portrayed as a standing figure wearing a jewelled crown. The prominence given to her girdle and the gesture of her left hand may be interpreted as alluding to the miraculous maternity while the crown suggests the scheme of glorification and incorruptibility. If this hypothesis is acceptable, this work may represent one of the earliest known instances of a composition which seeks to give expression to an imagery that is essentially literary and symbolic in description.

For imagery that can be related to the philosophical thought of the Middle Ages, we must turn to the poetic[38] and liturgical expression. Innumerable hymns make use of the parallelism of the motherhood and assumption.[39] A typical example, which opens with the words "Rejoice Mother in the fruit of thy womb,"[40] is particularly pertinent in that it was sung in celebration of the feast of the Assumption. Indeed, it may be noted in passing that the feast of the Assumption itself evolves from an earlier commemoration, established before the year 500 in Jerusalem, which combined the celebration of the motherhood with the Falling Asleep of Mary.[41] This sort of tradition is also to be compared with the consideration that the early arguments and legends about the Assumption are generally collected under such headings as *Dormition* (Germanus) or *de transitu virginis* (pseudo-Miletus).

Of more pertinent iconographic significance, however, is the similar tendency to parallelism found in much of the liturgy accompanying the feast of the Assumption. Thus, liturgical procedure makes frequent use of the symbolism glorifying the Virgin by reason of her role as

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[36] *ibid.*, col. 117: "*His requies mea in saeculum saeculi; hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam* (Psal. CXXX, 14). Habitavit in ea novem mensibus, habitavit cum ea et sub ea annis pluribus... Nunc autem in ea et cum ea, sicut interminabile aevo, sic incomprehensibili modi habitans, satiat eam beatificantium gloria visionum..."

[37] Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge: Études Archeologiques et Iconographiques*, Paris, 1878, II, pp. 61–64 and illus. *loc. cit.*

[38] It was undoubtedly similar scholastic considerations that inspired Dante, for example, to put into Bernard's mouth the glorious hymn addressed to the Virgin in her exalted state in Heaven: "Vergine madre figlia del tuo figlio..." (*Paradiso* XXXIII, 1–27).

[39] Among the hymns to the Virgin assembled by H. A. Daniel (*Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Leipzig, MDCCLV) many contain the double imagery of the Virgin exalted in her Assumption and addressed as the maternal figure; to mention but one instance, see the hymn (*ibid.*, II, p. 292) falsely ascribed to Epiphanius. See also Hirn, *op. cit.*, pp. 425–430 and especially Chap. XX, note 34.

[40] "*Gaude visceribus mater in intimis.*" (Daniel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 245–246).

[41] Duhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–24; *Cath. Encyc.*, II, p. 6.

tabernacle of Christ's body. We read in the rubrics of the seventh-century *Gothic Missal* for the feast of the Assumption:[42]

"It is right that you have been received in your Assumption by Him whom you holily received to be conceived through faith; so that not being of the earth you could not be held within the rocks (of the tomb)."

This imagery continued in the liturgical practice of the fifteenth century. Identical reference is found in the *Missale romanum* (Mediolani, 1474) for the *lectio in vigilia Assumptione* and *in Assumptione*[43] taken from Ecclesiasticus (XXIV; 11–13, 15–16). Here Wisdom, prefiguring and symbolizing the Virgin, speaks in praise of herself:

"And by my power I have trodden under my feet the hearts of all the high and low: and in all these I sought rest, and I shall abide in the inheritance of the Lord.

Then the creator of all things commanded, and said to me: and He that made me, rested in my tabernacle. And He said to me: Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thy inheritance in Israel, and take root in my elect ...

And so I was established in Sion, and in the holy city likewise I rested, and my power was in Jerusalem. And I took root in an honorable people, and in the portion of my God his inheritance, and my abode is in the full assembly of saints."

Furthermore, the metaphoric image is assimilated into the devotional literature[44] of the later Middle Ages and into the more popular literature as well. This folkloristic tendency, entirely typical of the Trecento,[45] was already found in the long account of the Assumption in the *Golden Legend* where the author, in characteristic fashion making little distinction between legend and dogma, draws equally from the apocryphal and patristic traditions. Thus, the angel who brings to Mary news of her approaching death is made to say:

"The death shall never have joy on thee, for thou hast borne the very light; breaking ne destruction shall not environ thee, for thou hast deserved to be my vessel. Come thou anon to Him which is born of thee for to receive the guerdons of the womb of the mother, and the reward of thy milk for my meat."[46]

Elsewhere in the same account, the doctrinal beliefs are summarized:

"This is the siege of God, the chamber of our Lord of heaven, and the tabernacle of Christ. She is worthy to be where He is, so precious a treasure is more worthy to be kept

[42] Duhr, *ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

[43] *Missale romanum*, ed. Robert Lippe, I, London, 1899, pp. 367–368. I am grateful to Mr. Dario Covi for calling this source to my attention.

[44] See, for example, the 14th century *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Leipzig, 1907, Cap. VIII, p. 19; and the *Speculum beatae Maria virginis*, ed. Antonious Sorg, Augsburg, 1476, *Primum gaudium*, no pagination.

[45] G. Volpi, *Storia letteraria d'Italia: Il trecento*, Milan, n.d., pp. 193–225.

[46] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, trans. 1483 by Wm. Caxton, London, 1931, IV, pp. 254–255.

in heaven than in earth ... In thy proper Son, and by thy proper Son, thou oughtest to have no harm of corruption; where thou haddest no corruption of virginity in childing so great a son, so thou whom He endued with so great glory shouldst be always without corruption, and live entirely; which barest entire Him that is perfect of all, and that she be with Him whom she bare in her womb, and that she be at Him whom she childed, gave suck and nourished Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, administress and servant. And because I may none other thing feel, I dare none other wise say ne presume. And hereof saith a noble versifier: *Transit adaethera, virgo puerpera, virgula Jesse | Non sine corpore, sed sine tempore tendit adesse.* The virgin that childeth mounted into heaven, the little rod of Jesse, not without body, but without time, she entendeth to be there, virgin pure and net. Secondly, she was assumpt and taken up gladly. And hereof said Gerard, bishop and martyr, in his homily: The heavens received this day the Blessed Virgin, the angels were glad, the archangels enjoyed, the thrones sang, the dominations made melody, the principalities harmonized, the potestates harped, cherubim and seraphim sang laudings and praisings; and bringing her with thankings and lauds into the siege of the divine and sovereign majesty."[47]

Identical doctrinal beliefs to which the *Golden Legend* compilation refers continue in later periods. In the fifteenth century, Antoninus of Florence affirms that all the faithful now hold the Assumption as dogma;[48] therefore, belief in the corporeal Assumption as the fulfillment of the maternity is considered obligatory without definition *ex cathedra*. Further, it is transmitted as dogma to the laity through sermons preached in commemoration of the feast of the Assumption. As a pertinent example, we may mention Bernardino da Siena's *Le prediche volgari* wherein all the events, directly or indirectly associated with Mary's ultimate glorification and expanded by an account of the Coronation, are commemorated within the single celebration of the Assumption. Drawing his inspiration from the Psalms (CXXXI, 8), "Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place; thou and the ark, which thou has sanctified," Bernardino addresses Mary who has been welcomed into the heavenly sphere by God the Father:

"And what greater joy can be granted to her? Mary delights in God, she perceives Him, she sees Him, she contemplates Him, she possesses Him eternally mirrored in the Son united with the Eternal Father. She sees in her Beloved Son her own flesh which she nourished with her own milk; the flesh which she conceived and held within her pure and virginal womb ... From this vision Mary has such gladness, such consolation, such triumph, such love, that she never ceases her contemplation for the joy of it ..."[49]

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[47] *ibid.*, pp. 244–245.

[48] Duhr, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[49] Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari*, ed. P. Bargellini, Milan-Rome, 1936, pp. 49–50: "E che maggiore letizia si può considerare che ti possa avere? Ella gode Iddio, Ella il discerna, Ella il vede, Ella il considera, Ella il possede, sempre specchiandosi in lui unito col Padre Eterno. Ella vede nel suo diletto Figliuolo quella propria carne che Essa nutricè col suo proprio latte; quella la quale Ella concepè e tenne nel suo puro e vergineo ventre... Del quale vedere Maria ha tanto gaudio, tanta consolazione, tanto triunfo, tanto diletto, che mai non restò di guardarlo per tanta letizia, quanta Essa senta..."

Here, Bernardino supplies us with a source that is closely contemporary with, though certainly older than, the execution of the fresco in Monterchi. Just as this fifteenth-century sermon follows the same tradition expressed in the painted work, so does the Trecento and early Quattrocento iconography reflect contemporary theological traditions. Whatever the period, the major artistic problem is the same, namely, to combine within a single devotional image of the Madonna of Expectation the doctrinal, symbolical and allegorical references to all the mysteries growing out of the maternity. The result is an image portraying several events which have a philosophical point of contact by complementing or fulfilling one another and represented without regard for their chronological occurence.

We may now return to the interpretation proposed earlier, that this image of the Virgin of Expectation represents Mary as the *mater omnium*, the compassionate mother of mankind. Belief in this special attribute of Mary as mother of mercy, in strict accordance with the oldest Christian devotional tradition and practice, derives from her consent to divine motherhood at the time of the Annunciation. By her *Fiat*, and acceptance of her eternally predestined role, Mary becomes the new Eve, regaining for mankind the salvation that was lost by the Fall. According to a popular medieval concept, Mary is the antitype of Eve. Eve is our natural mother because she is the origin of our natural life; Mary is our spiritual mother because she is the origin of our spiritual life. This characteristic idea is found in the *Discourses* of Bernard of Clairvaux where, significantly enough, the concept of the new Eve is evoked in the same sermon on the Assumption already cited for the parallelism of the Maternity-Incorruptibility of the Virgin:

"The ancient Eve, stepmother rather than mother, established the precedent of death for her children at the beginning of light. Indeed, she is called the mother of all the living; but more truly she became the murderess of the living, the genetrix of the dying ... And because she could not faithfully interpret her name, this one (Mary) fulfilled the mystery ... She is the mother of all restored to life ..."[50]

From her privileged position as *mater omnium* grows Mary's role as *mediatrix nostra, advocata nostra*, to whom power is given to mitigate the wrath of God. Thus, we find an entirely typical imagery again in the *Discourses* from the second sermon *in adventu Domini*:

"... by thee may we have access to thy Son, oh blessed discoverer of grace, bearer of Life, mother of deliverence: may He take us up through thee, who through thee was given to us. May thy purity lighten the guilt of our corruption in His presence; and may thy humility, oh beloved of God, procure pardon for our vanity. May thy copious charity conceal the multitude of our sins and thy glorious fertility confer fruitfulness to our good

[50] Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 117: "...Eva vetus ella, non tam mater quam noverca, quae filiis ante propinavit prae judicium mortis, quam initium lucis. Dicta est quidem mater cunctorum viventium; sed inventa est verius interfetrix viventium, seu genetrix morientum...Et quia illa non potuit fideliter interpretrari nomen suum, ista implevit mysterium...mater est omnium ad vitam renascentium..."

works. Our Lady, our mediatrice, our advocate, reconcile us to thy Son, commend us to thy Son, intercede for us with thy Son ..."[51]

The equivalent of such a text within the subject of the Expectation is found best in those portrayals which associate the Virgin with figures of donors. In addition, this concept finds special application in the Monterchi *Madonna del Parto*. Only through Mary's special role as intercessor is it possible to explain the otherwise paradoxical placement of the Expectant Virgin upon the wall of a cemetery chapel in close proximity with death, or the association of a glorified figure with a place of physical corruptibility. It is possible now to suggest several reasons for this. It has already been shown that the miraculous maternity implies the related mystery of the Assumption and ultimate glorification; the iconographic equivalent of Mary's triumph over the grave and, therefore, her incorruptibility is expressed in the portrayal. Still another explanation follows from the belief in Mary as the new Eve, a role enhanced by the closely related belief in the effectiveness of Mary's intercessory power at the hour of death. The idea finds expression in the fourteenth-century devotional treatise, *Speculum beatae Maria virginis*, ascribed to the pseudo-Bonaventura. The author lists the eternal salvation of mankind as one of the direct consequences of the "tree of life (i.e. the Virgin) bearing twelve fruits ... and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations (Apoc. XXII, 2)".[52] A secondary reference to the importance of Mary *in partu* as intercessor is reflected and emphasized by a characteristic medieval, juridical practice granting to pregnant women special intermediary privileges in behalf of criminals appearing before a court of justice.[53]

A more contemporary iconographic source for associating the Expectation motif with a place of death may be found in San Bernardino's sermon of the Assumption already cited for its glorification of the Virgin under several guises. The preacher earnestly warns his listeners that:

"... She (Mary) knows how many souls are in glory, how many are in hell, and exactly how many are yet to go there. And, likewise, she knows how many souls are in purgatory and how many are still to go there ..."[54]

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[51] *ibid.*, CLXXXIII, col. 43: "Per te accessum habeamus ad Filium, o benedicta inventrix gratiae, genetrix vitae, mater salutis; ut per te nos suscipiat, qui per te datus est nobis. Excuset apud ipsum integritas tua culpam nostrae corruptionis et humilitas Deo grata nostrae veniam impetret vanitati. Copiosa charitas tua nostrorum cooperiat multitudinem peccatorum, et fecunditas gloriosa fecunditatem nobis conferat meritorum. Domina nostra, mediatrix nostra, advocata nostra, tuo Filio nos reconcilia, tuo Filio nos commenda, tuo nos Filio repraesenta..."

[52] *Speculum... op. cit.*, no pagination. The quotation used will be found at the end of the work and begins with the words "...necessarius est marie fructus benedictus ad perpetuationem glorie eternalis que eterna non esset nisi per hunc fructum conservaretur... sic ergo carissimi audistis quomodo benedictus fructus marie necessarius omnino est...duodecima ad conservandum gloriam eternalem..."

[53] V. Sussman, "Maria mit dem Schutzmantel," *Marburger Jahrbuch*, V, 1929, p. 288.

[54] *op. cit.*, p. 38: "...Ella conobbe quante anime sono in gloria, quante ne sono in inferno, e quante mai ve n'anderanno. E cosi cognobbe quante anime sono o mai anderanno in purgatorio..."

In the light of this evidence,[55] it is possible to suggest that the Monterchi image contains an allusion to Mary as the new Eve who recreates mankind's spiritual life by virtue of her participation in the Incarnation. It is a manifestation of the tendency to humanize divine personages—a tendency that is reflected as well in the popular exhortations of Bernardino in contrast to the elevated imagery of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Once the several meanings for the image are admitted, it becomes possible to enlarge them by examining the attendant figures and the setting for their inherent symbolism. The angels who flank the Virgin and draw aside the tent are members of that great company of angels who, in the *Golden Legend*, conduct Mary's body to heaven and who, in the words of Bernardino, "applaud her presence before the Holy Trinity." The assisting angels, arranged in a symmetrical position, were associated with the subject of the Madonna del Parto in earlier representations. They appear in the panel of the Venice Academy (*fig. 10*) in postures and gestures that are repeated in the later Monterchi fresco. The use of angels in the subject of the Expectation is an adaptation of a compositional device that is common to many types of representations of the Madonna, particulary in the seated or enthroned Madonna and Child. Innumerable instances of angels arranged in symmetrical pairs may be found.[56] Piero's use of the motif, although certainly dependent upon tradition, differs in one important respect: the angels move forward and occupy the frontal plane together with the Virgin. For this new design element, Piero may have looked to certain reliefs where similar figures drawing aside drapery, though associated with other subject matter, begin to appear with greater frequency around the middle of the century. He may have been inspired by such groups as those marble reliefs by Agostino di Duccio in the chapel of S. Sigismondo, Rimini[57] or a stucco attributed to Michelozzo in Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence.[58]

Stylistically, Piero's angels reflect another mid-century trend which looked to antiquity for new direction. They may be compared favorably with a pair of *Victories* (*fig. 12*) found on the Thermae Helenae in Rome, now in the Vatican.[59] These figures hold aloft an inscription commemorating a restoration of the building in 324–336 A.D.[60] Similarities to the Monterchi angels extend even to the posture of the figures, the position of the legs, and to the manner in which

[55] A related literary ideology produced in art the whole iconographical pattern surrounding the more familiar composition of the Assumption of the Virgin and the events of the end of her life; cf. K. Künstle, "Tod und Verherrlichung Marias," *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1928, I, pp. 563–583; Mâle, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1931, pp. 248–259; E. Staedel, *Ikonographie der Himmelfahrt Mariens*, Strassburg, 1935; B. Nieto, *La Asuncion de la Virgen en el arte*, Madrid, 1950; J. Hecht, "Die Frühesten Darstellungen der Himmelfahrt Mariens," *Das Munster*, IV, 1951. For a related study on the Coronation, see Offner, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 243–250.

[56] A notable example of the group in Quattrocento painting can be seen in the Masolino-Masaccio panel of the *St. Anne, Madonna and Child* (Uffizi).

[57] A. Pointner, *Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio*, Strassburg, 1909, pl. VI.

[58] A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1914, VI, fig. 227.

[59] W. De Gruyter, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, Berlin & Leipzig, 1936, Pl. 74, Nos. 591 and 586.

[60] S. B. Platner and T. Ashby (*A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, p. 531) note 16th century drawings of the remains of the Thermae Helenae by Palladio and Antonio da Sangallo the younger. This would indicate that the building was visible in the previous century. It could, therefore, have been seen by Piero when he was summoned to Rome in the late 40's by Nicholas V.

the arm, slightly disarticulated at the shoulder, extends across the body. Similarities are also found in the drawing of the wing in profile while the body itself is arranged frontally. Finally, the Monterchi angels wear garments that resemble the peplos of the *Victories*, the painted folds of the drapery being grouped in a modified arrangement of the ancient prototype. Compositional as well as stylistic elements serve to enhance the hypothesis that the angels are witnesses to Mary's triumph over the grave and conduct her "with thankings and lauds into the siege of the divine and sovereign majesty."

A related symbolism can be suggested for the circular, tent-like setting within which the Madonna, now defined as the tabernacle of Christ, is centrally placed. The iconography of this circular area may well derive from the Christian symbolism that would equate the circle with the Church: the circle signifies the Godhead, the *alpha* and *omega* who is without beginning or end. Among the symbolic allusions for the circle discussed by Krautheimer,[61] the most significant for the present discussion is the association of circle and church as "never ending, containing the sacraments and the hope of future life."[62] Continuing this thought, then, the circular roof over the Virgin represents the ciborium which, by liturgical definition, is a large structure in the form of a cupola or dome erected over the high-altar and under which the sacrament is preserved. To this ciborium were fastened curtains of precious stuffs, called the *tetravela altaris*.[63] These were drawn around the altar at certain moments of the Mass according to the rubrics of the individual church. By analogy, therefore, the upper portion of the Monterchi tent becomes the ciborium and the hangings become the *tetravela altaris* drawn back by the assistants to reveal the tabernacle of the altar standing in the midst of the church.

A second interpretation connects the motif of the tent as an enclosure with the iconography of the Virgin as *mediatrix nostra* and enhances the symbolism already discussed with reference to the figure itself. As such, the motif may be related in function to the device of the cloak falling from the Virgin's shoulders, an aspect of her mercy which is represented in Piero's earlier polyptych of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in Borgo San Sepolcro.

To summarize the iconography of the Monterchi fresco, we may say that the entire complex of figures and setting portrays several related philosophical concepts in which a single image of the Virgin represents bodily and spiritual glorification. To understand its compositional elements one must compare the visual with the literary tradition that is medieval and doctrinal in character. The composition has been shown to derive from an earlier tradition of minor iconographical development, the Monterchi variant showing an archaistic reversion to a type but infrequently evoked within the Trecento or early Quattrocento development. The transformation of the older tradition into a work that conforms with a new age is then achieved by the monumental style of the master and by the heightened aspect of humanization given to the figures.

[61] R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, p. 31.

[62] *loc. cit.*

[63] A. J. Schulte, "Altar," *Cath. Encyc.*, I, p. 353.

Therefore, the Monterchi *Madonna del Parto* and, indeed, all of the earlier representations emerge from a dogmatic tradition reflected in sources of which those cited are typical examples. On the strength of such evidence, the image is seen as portraying not only the Expectation subject *per se* but also the Virgin who achieves her ultimate glorification as a necessary consequence of her miraculous maternity. In the light of this discussion, the interpretation of this representation as the Apocalyptic "woman clothed with the sun" is a partial one. Although it is true that this figure is associated in the mind of the church with the Assumption of the Virgin,[64] this association is extended to include several other passages which were also considered to prefigure and demonstrate the mystery. Chief among these is the immediately preceding text, Apocalypse (XI, 19): "And the temple of God in heaven was opened, and there was seen the ark of his covenant in his temple." This text, taken with the following verse (XII, 1–2), the *mulier amicta sole*, indeed shows close analogies with the Expectation motif, especially in view of the connection with the Assumption. Nevertheless, the total significance of the so-called Madonna del Parto can best be determined from a long and continuous tradition that sought to interrelate the chief mysteries of the life of the Virgin by means of a scheme of parallelism which artists then sought to incorporate within a single devotional image of the Virgin.

[64] Renaudin, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46.

Fig. 1. Piero della Francesca and assistant, Madonna del Parto, *Monterchi, Capella del Cimitero. (Alinari)*.

Fig. 2. Master of San Martino alla Palma, Madonna del Parto, *Florence, Sta. Maria in Campo.*

Fig. 3. Nardo di Cione (?), Madonna del Parto, *Florence, San Lorenzo.*

Fig. 4. Master of San Martino alla Palma, Madonna della Ninna, *Florence, Academy.*

Fig. 5. Close following of Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Saints, *Florence, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo.*

Fig. 6. Close following of Bernardo Daddi, Magnificat, *(detail), Rome, Vatican Pinacoteca.*

Fig. 7. Rosello di Iacopo Franchi, Regina Coeli, *Florence, Uffizi.* *(Photo: Frick Art Reference Library).*

Fig. 8. Orcagnesque Master, Maria Madre delle Virtù, *Rome, Vatican Pinacoteca.*

Fig. 9. School of Stefano da Verona, Madonna
and Saints, *Verona, Museo Civico.*

Fig. 10. Venetian Master, Madonna
del Parto, *Venice, Academy.*

Fig. 11. School of Amiens, The
Expectant Madonna with St. Joseph
Washington, National Gallery.
(Photo: National Gallery.)

Fig. 12. Victories from Thermae Helenae, *Rome, Vatican.*

Fig. 1. Sienese School, Madonna and Child, *Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Siena.*
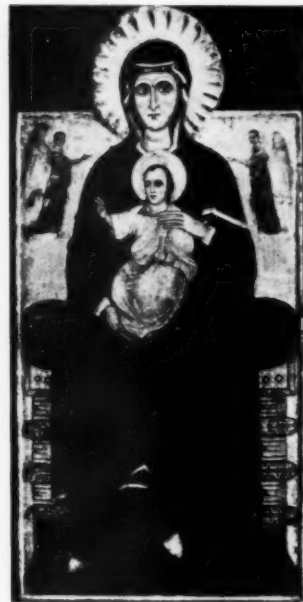
Fig. 2. Bigallo Master, Madonna and Child, *Acton Collection, Florence.*

Fig. 3. Florentine School, St. Michael Altarpiece *(detail)*, *S. Angelo, Vico l'Abate.*

Fig. 4. Margaritone d'Arezzo, Madonna and Child, *National Gallery, Washington. (Photo: National Gallery, Kress Collection).*
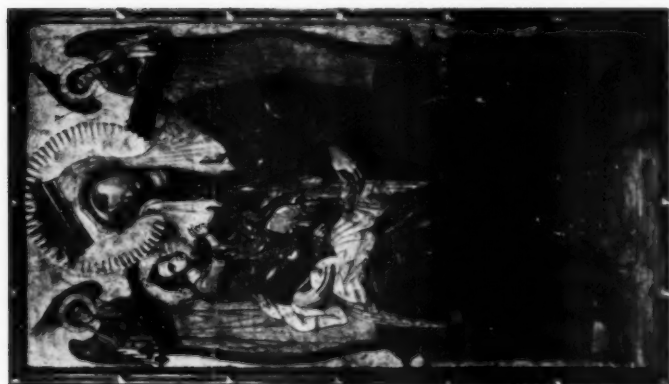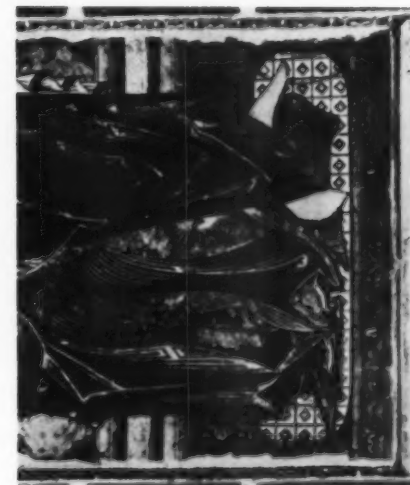
Fig. 5. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna and Child, S. Maria dei Servi, Siena. (Photo: Frick Art Reference Library).

Fig. 5a. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna and Child (detail), S. Maria dei Servi, Siena.

Fig. 6. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna and Child, S. Maria dei Servi, Orvieto. (Alinari)

Fig. 6a. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna and Child (detail), S. Maria dei Servi, Orvieto.

Fig. 7. Cimabue, Virgin in Glory, Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Fig. 8. Guido da Siena, Madonna and
Child Enthroned, *Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.*
(Grassi).

Fig. 9. Cimabue, Madonna and Child with St.
Francis *(detail), Lower Church, San Francesco,
Assisi. (Alinari).*

Fig. 10. Duccio, Rucellai Madonna,
Uffizi, Florence. (Alinari).

Fig. 11. Cimabue, S. Trinita Ma-
donna, *Uffizi, Florence. (Alinari).*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THRONE IN DUGENTO TUSCAN PAINTING*

by JAMES H. STUBBLEBINE

All painting follows the collective evolution of its time and place, because no painter can entirely escape the artistic changes going on around him. For a period such as the Dugento in Tuscany, where much is lost and little is known, and few personalities emerge with clarity, the study of the collective evolution becomes all the more important. During this century (considered by itself rather than as a phase of medieval art) the collective evolution can be traced in the ever-increasing preoccupation with three-dimensional space. There is revealed an inescapable law of change to which the individual painter, consciously or not, is obedient.

The enthroned figure is one of the dominant themes of the period,[1] but for several reasons the throne more than the figure is an index of this evolution: a) the throne lends itself more readily to classification and hence to study and analysis; b) the throne has usually been spared repainting while the figure has not; c) spatial developments could be incorporated in the throne as they could not in the figure, because of the traditional aversion to foreshortening and distortion in the latter;[2] d) by the very simplicity of its forms the throne invited explorations in the third dimension. Thus, a study of the treatment of the throne can provide a fairly secure basis for placing any panel within the evolution. It is proposed, therefore, that a careful analysis of the thrones will yield a more objective concept of the stylistic development of the period.

A brief survey of the throne in Dugento paintings shows four categories which are found to correspond fairly closely to four chronological phases. In paintings of the early part of the century the "flat throne" is two-dimensional, symmetrical, and backless; it confirms the hieratic, frontal presentation of the enthroned figure.

A second group shows a limited three-dimensionality and an accelerated interest in the picture space. A third group, emphasizing the throne as a three-dimensional block, may be

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[1] The article by Renate Jaques, "Die Ikonographie der Madonna in trono in der Dugento," *Mitteilungen. Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence*, V, 1937, is concerned with iconographic traditions, not with formal aspects of Dugento painting.

[2] Stemming from concepts of the Middle Byzantine period, as explained by Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1947, pp. 5–10.

called the "box throne"; here the front and back are parallel to the picture plane while the sides run back diagonally. A fourth group, to be called the "chair throne", shows an advanced understanding of receding orthogonals and of forms in a definable space.

In the first group the throne is a low, flat shape, surmounted by a cushion and with a footstool below. It has no back. The only suggestion of the third dimension is the slight relief of the decorative elements. The throne is strictly frontal and centralized to allow the maximum bilateral symmetry. The footstool, however, is invariably presented in some degree of perspective and thus measures the distance from the fore plane to the throne as a space sufficient to contain the figure while, at the same time, it gives credible support to the feet.[3]

A throne in this first group consists of a series of alternately projecting and receding bands decorated with abstract designs: disks, lozenges, striations, and leaf patterns. As a result, the throne appears primarily as a flat pattern although the slight bevel on the outer edges of these decorations indicate some depth if only by their resemblance to relief carving. It may be noted here that this type of throne is represented most typically in a panel shaped as an arcuated rectangle with the head and halo of the enthroned figure emerging above the limit of the rectangle. The abstract nature of the throne eminently suits such a hieratic presentation of the figure.[4]

The earliest preserved example of this type may be seen in a fragment from an *Altarpiece* in the Opera del Duomo, Siena (*fig. 1*). It appears to be contemporary with the *Altarpiece* of 1215 in the Pinacoteca, Siena,[5] for it has a similar embossed decoration on the border and the central figure is also in relief. It will be worthwhile to look at this throne in some detail. It is a flat shape, symmetrically disposed on either side of the Madonna. The main part is composed of three horizontal bands; two are dark in color and ornamented with small patterns; the third one, of a light color, projects on either side. This central section is supported by large leaf patterns at the bottom.[6] The topmost level of the throne would appear to be another part of the elevation were it not for the oval stones set into its curving edge which imply, as do those along two sides of the footstool, that it is an element belonging to the depth of the picture. It would seem to represent the seat of the throne tipped upward and forward, thus effecting a compromise between the three-dimensional and the two-dimensional. A significant point to be noted is that

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[3] The suggestion of space implicit in the representation of the footstool may also be noted in the *suppedaneum* which supports the feet of Christ in contemporary painted Crosses. A clear example is the late twelfth-century Cross in San Michele, Lucca (E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, figs. 222, 353).

[4] This style had extremely wide usage in earlier art, as is testified by examples in Roman medieval frescoes (Sta. Pudenziana, S. Clemente, S. Angelo in Formis, etc.); in Roman panel painting (*Christ Enthroned*, Tivoli Cathedral, illustrated in J. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, Freiburg i. B., 1916, IV, Pls. 244–5); in Italian bronze doors (at Pisa and Ravello); in the Exultet Rolls of South Italy; and in Byzantine mosaics. For the more immediate background, see such manuscripts as the *Bible* in the Certosa of Calci near Pisa dated 1169 (Toesca, *Storia dell' arte italiana: Il Medioevo*, Turin, 1927, fig. 724).

[5] Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, fig. 106. The supposition of similar lateral scenes was first put forward by van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[6] The throne supported on leaves is seen earlier in the *Psalter* from Poggibonsi (Florence, Bib. Laur., Plut. XVII, 3) of the mid-twelfth century. This motif, which persists in all Tuscan thrones through those of Coppo di Marcovaldo, would seem to be an expression of the spiritual and weightless qualities of thrones which support holy figures.

the cushion does not give way under the weight of the Virgin. The footstool offers the only measure of spatial intervals; seen from the left, it gives the distance from the fore plane to the throne. The throne has no back to serve as a foil for the figure. The isolation of the figure and throne in space is increased by setting them off against the gold surface of the background.

With minor deviations, the thrones in two other roughly contemporary Sienese paintings exhibit these characteristics: the *Madonna* in Tressa,[7] and the *Madonna* in the Chigi-Saracini Collection, Siena.[8] In neither example is the central figure in relief but, as in the Opera del Duomo *Madonna*, they are comparable to the figure of Christ on painted crosses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[9] for the central figure exists in a separate space as distinct from the historical space of surrounding representations.

In the panels in the Chigi-Saracini Collection and the Opera del Duomo, the Virgin's head and halo rise above the horizontal edge of the picture, bringing the enthroned figure into a more direct relationship with the spectator. The denial of the picture space tends to emphasize the symbolic representation of the figure. The Madonna is constrained to the most rigid frontality and the Christ Child is held within the outline of her figure. Her position in relation to the throne is substantiated only by the curve of drapery falling from her left knee.

The thrones in the panels ascribed to the Bigallo Master[10] are associated in all essentials with this group and manifest a development which is characteristic of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[11] The example (*fig. 2*) in the Acton Collection, Florence, may be taken as typical of the Bigallo Master. The throne differs from the earlier, Sienese examples only in the increased number of tiers and the way in which the cushion curves under the weight of the figure. The beveled edges of the topmost tier indicate even more clearly than do the other examples that it is the tipped-up seat of the throne. It is a composite—more abstract than visual—of the front, the seat, and the sides of the throne. The lines of the footstool diverge as they recede—in reverse or expanding perspective—instead of tending to converge towards a vanishing point. Thus, even the footstool does not convey any convincing suggestion of space. The throne is still backless; the head and halo of the figure rise above the upper horizontal line, causing the figure to detach itself from the panel. The attendant angels, like those in the Sienese examples, are in a smaller scale and float against the immeasurable gold ground.

[7] A dossal much cut down so that only the top part of the throne is preserved; Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, No. 378.

[8] Illustrated in Richard Offner, "Guido da Siena and A.D. 1221," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, XXXVII, 1950, fig. 13.

[9] This relationship, brought out by Toesca (*op. cit.*, p. 993), connects this panel and the *Altarfrontal* of 1215 with the Cross in San Francesco, Zara (Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 42); see also the Cross in San Michele, Lucca (*ibid.*, fig. 353).

[10] This artistic personality was reconstructed by Richard Offner in "The Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra I," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 76 and n. 17.

[11] To this artist may be attributed the *Madonnas* in the Acton Collection, Florence (fig. 2); the Hann Collection, Pittsburgh (O. Sirén, *Toskanische Malerei im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1922, fig. 23); the Museum at Nantes (Offner, *op. cit.*, Pl. I-D); the Conservatorio delle Montalve, La Quiete, near Florence (*ibid.*, Pl. I-C); and at S. Maria a Bagnano (*ibid.*, Pl. I-B); the *St. Zenobius Altarfrontal* in the Opera del Duomo, Florence (Sirén, *op. cit.*) differs in no essentials from the throne style of the other panels.

The final development of this first type of throne is seen in the *St. Michael Altarpiece* (*fig. 3*) in Vico l'Abate near Florence. Its stylistic features place it in the middle of the century, somewhat later in the evolution than the Bigallo Master.[12] In a number of ways this master changes the method used by the Bigallo Master to depict the throne. In the St. Michael panel, the main part of the throne has only one round-ended projection. The entire throne is bound together by a contour of dots, which also extends down to the leaf patterns at the bottom. The throne now has greater unity and is no longer composed of a number of superimposed layers as in the Bigallo Master.

The up-tilted seat is omitted altogether, modifying the two-dimensional and abstract effect of earlier thrones. But this master does not yet represent the third dimension. The feet of St. Michael rest on a cushion which is a flat design. Instead of suggesting depth in this part of the picture, the cushion as well as the tilted feet help to maintain a flat pictorial surface. The drapery falling over the cushion and under the figure, and covering part of the throne as well as the cushion at the feet, while it unifies the surface design, also, as the result of overlapping, suggests depth.[13]

After the St. Michael Master, the thrones in this group show no appreciable development.[14] Some, as witness those of Margaritone d'Arezzo, appear to be outside the main current. This provincial painter, known to have been active in 1262, was sufficiently removed from a vital, creative center to miss most of the progressive trends.[15] His style derives largely from that of the Bigallo Master although certain features help to place his activity well into the third quarter of the century. The panel in the National Gallery, Washington (*fig. 4*), has a throne made up of the old system of alternately protruding and receding layers; it is, however, drawn together and given unity by a forceful contour of dots, similar to those in the *St. Michael Altarpiece*. The low position of the footstool and the convergence of its diagonals betrays his lateness in respect to the Bigallo Master. And it is noteworthy that the uppermost level of the throne no longer represents a tilted seat but only the highest tier of the throne. Its two ends curve up and out as though to suggest the receding sides of the throne. In other words, the painter tries to follow later developments by attempting to show the sides of the throne, but he cannot escape the earlier and more abstract method. Failure to give any convincing three-dimensional qualities and the absence of a throne-back necessitates the inclusion of his thrones in the first group.[16]

[12] L. Dami, "Un nuovo maestro del Dugento fiorentino," *Dedalo*, V, 1925, p. 497; Richard Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, New Haven, 1927, p. 12 and Pl. 4–0; *idem.*, "Firenze Sacra," *Burlington Magazine*, 1933, p. 79, n. 24.

[13] This drapery motif was not in evidence in any earlier Dugento panel, but it appears in the 1225 mosaic of the *Madonna* in the *scarsella* of the Florentine Baptistery (van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 125), thus an influence from that source is suggested.

[14] Comparable thrones are found in painted crosses, chiefly in the *cimasa*, which is usually given to the scene of the Ascension, and in which Christ is represented as seated. Examples are: No. 20 in the Gallery at Pisa (Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 148); in S. Pierino, Pisa (*ibid.*, fig. 143); in Sarzana Cathedral, the Cross of Guglielmo of 1138 (*ibid.*, fig. 144). The Florentine Cross in the Uffizi (Accademia No. 434) contains thrones belonging to this group in its narrative scenes.

[15] C. Weigelt, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, Leipzig, XXIV, 1930, pp. 88f.

[16] Another traditional painter is the Rovezzano Master (Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 27) whose thrones are as flat as

During the second half of the thirteenth century in Tuscany, space, and the means by which it might be represented, became an ever-increasing preoccupation to the artist. Three-dimensional space had, of course, been represented before this but in terms of Dugento Tuscan painting, considered independently; the method by which depth could be represented in a picture was explored in that spirit which led Tuscan art to the Renaissance of the fifteenth century. What the Dugento artist wanted to do was to tunnel out a pictorial space and allow objects to occupy this space. The throne, consisting of straight lines and right angles invited such treatment. Even so, the initial step in this direction was tentative. There is a distinct group of thrones which are represented with a limited three-dimensionality since none of them shows the entire side.

This second group of thrones is auspiciously introduced by the *Madonna*[17] of 1261 by Coppo di Marcovaldo in the Servi Church, Siena (*fig. 5–5a*). The throne in this panel is given a more convincing sense of depth than has been seen heretofore. The seat of the throne is no longer tipped up or eliminated, for now the sides recede in a slightly narrowing course. A similar perspective is also employed, and for the first time, on the footstool although the viewpoint is slightly different from that of the seat. The cornice just below the large leaf forms also follows an independent perspective.

These three points of recession give the throne a new sense of space occupancy. At the same time, it is clear that the throne still obeys certain formal demands, for the depth is carefully limited at every point. The cushion of the seat cuts off farther extensions into depth just as the cushion under the feet hides part of the footstool. In addition, the throne-back which rises behind all but the heads of the Madonna and Child isolates them from the immeasurable space of the gold ground and holds the figures in a defined forward plane. It is precisely for this reason that the throne-back would have been unwelcome in the earlier group of thrones. In its first use in Dugento Tuscan panel painting, in Coppo's *Madonna*, it provides a continuous structure behind the figures, tending thereby to unify the picture space.[18]

those of the Bigallo Master. The throne in the panel in S. Andrea, Rovezzano (*Catalogo del Mostra Giottesca*, Florence, 1943, fig. 54) betrays its later date by the unified mass without projecting bands. The elimination of tilted seat and footstool, with nothing to replace them, indicates the artist's embarrassment with the old style, as well as his inability to grasp newer solutions.

[17] Illustrated in van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 135. For detailed photos after restoration: C. Brandi, "Il restauro della Madonna di Coppo di Marcovaldo ...," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXV, 1950, figs. 3, 10, 11.

[18] The use of the throne-back had a long tradition: Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, *Madonna Enthroned* (sixth century); Commodilla Catacombs (sixth century); S. Maria in Domnica (ninth century); Tivoli, S. Silvestro (twelfth century); Milan, Sant'Ambrogio (twelfth century). The most immediate inspiration would have been the *Madonna* of the *scarsella* in the Baptistery of Florence. This mosaic, however, belonged to an older cycle outside the Tuscan tradition and to a more developed phase of that cycle than Coppo was of his own. The concept of form is very different from the Tuscan, without that sense of volumes, which is so strong in the Tuscan master. That Coppo probably had other prototypes is indicated by the curving sides of his throne-back, which is known in the tradition as the lyre-back. This style is found in S. Apollinare Nuovo, *Christ Enthroned* (sixth century), and Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua (sixth century) among numerous examples in mosaics, frescoes, and miniatures. More recently it had been seen in the mosaic of the *Last Judgement* in the Florentine Baptistery (the *Six Apostles seated with the Virgin*, attributed to Andrea Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi [Brogi 15474]), and in slightly earlier manuscripts of the region, for example, the twelfth-century manuscript in the Laurentian Library (MS Plut. XVII, 27) reproduced by Toesca, *Storia*, fig. 736.

Coppo's interest in spatial solutions is made clear in other ways. The lower part of the throne still rests on leafy, voluted cup shapes; above is a solid section contoured with dots similar to the *St. Michael Altarpiece*. The central section consists of a great cluster of carved leaves evoking a capital and, like it, suggestive of pressure and up-thrust. The highest part of the throne consists of a close series of narrow bands, richly and variously decorated. It will be seen, then, that Coppo has redistributed the horizontal elements; the reduction to three large units, each a complex of smaller parts, gives to the whole an organic unity far different from the thrones of the Bigallo Master where horizontal bands tended to be self-isolating. In Coppo's throne the parts comprise the whole by means of a system of rhythmic growth and change; in the Bigallo Master the bands could be further multiplied without altering the rhythm.

The physical reality of the throne in Coppo's Siena panel is enforced by other factors. The frontality of the Madonna had been abandoned. She turns towards the right while the Child, held away from her body, turns to face her. This is quite different from the hieratic presentation of the Madonna holding the figure of the Child within her contours. Thus arises a human, psychological relationship, motivated by the same naturalism which gives them their increased physical reality.

Coppo's *Madonna*[19] in S. Maria dei Servi, in Orvieto, consolidates the gains made in his earlier work and advances upon them (*fig. 6–6a*). The lower part of the throne, aside from the doubling of the cushions under the Virgin, is substantially the same. The throne-back, however, now has a curved top member and cuts much higher behind the head and halo of the figure, so that it is almost entirely isolated from the background. The halo, interposed in relief between the head and the throne-back, sets up a spatial tension between the various planes in depth. The footstool now reverts to that earlier tradition whereby it is seen slightly from one side although the throne is seen in strict frontality. But it differs from the tradition and from Coppo's earlier *Madonna* in that the footstool is now tipped to the same degree as the seat of the throne, thus making the picture space more coordinated. The entire throne now covers about five-sixths of the height of the panel, a great increase over those in earlier representations. In addition, its back fans out towards the sides so that, considering the relatively smaller size of the Madonna figure, it displaces most of the background.

The figure itself shows a comparable advance, both in its complex contrapposto movement and in the rendering of the volumes of thighs, legs, and arms. The Christ Child now raises his nearer arm, enhancing the sense of the turning body and creating a pocket of space between his arm and the Mother's body. The outward thrust of his knees completes a contrapposto comparable to that of the Madonna. Most interesting of all, the Virgin's right foot is raised to allow her right thigh to rise in support of the Child. Although this supporting function is scarcely successful, it is a more complex approach than was seen in the Siena *Madonna*, and one which suggests activity in the figure.

The angels, too, undergo a development; whereas, in previous representations, they had taken an incalculable position above or beside the Madonna's head, they are now brought into prox-

[19] Illustrated in *Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 58.

imity to the enthroned figures. They are seen, as larger-scaled half-figures, in a definite space just behind the throne-back.[20] So placed, they become attendants of the Madonna and, at the same time, mark the penultimate stage of recession from the picture plane.[21]

So far, then, the throne in Dugento Tuscan painting has developed from a two-dimensional shape, as in those of the Bigallo Master, to an object with limited suggestions of three-dimensionality, as in those of Coppo. The evolution is in the direction of space exploration, of ferreting out the depths of the picture in which objects could exist with some semblance of material reality. The next logical step would be to reveal the entire side of the throne as it recedes into depth. For this objective, the box throne, as a simple, clearly unified mass, was peculiarly appropriate, being most suitable to express the Tuscan predilection for volume. Comparable thrones with two or more visible facets had appeared throughout earlier ages, probably just because of their space-creating potentialities.[22]

[20] Here Coppo again reverts to an earlier tradition. In the Byzantine manuscript of the *Homilies of Jean Chrysostome* of the eleventh century (Paris, B. N., MS Coislin 79, fol. 2; Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1929, Pl. LXIII) such half-length angels are placed behind the throneback. In the Laurentian Library manuscript cited above (f. n. 18), one such angel hovers near a throne-back which is remarkably close to the type Coppo uses in his Madonnas. Half-length angels appear behind St. Francis in the panel of 1235 by Bonaventura Berlinghieri in Pescia (Sirén, *Toskanische Malerei*, figs. 12–13) although they do not as yet have the spatial relation to the central figure which Coppo gives them in his Orvieto panel. Closer to Coppo's usage are the angels in the gable of the *St. Francis* panel of the middle of the thirteenth century at San Francesco, Pisa (van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 180).

[21] The thrones in these two panels by Coppo provide the archetypes for a series of thrones, all of which, in one way or another, take account of his innovations without, however, introducing any major evolutionary factor. In two works attributed to the Magdalen Master (see Offner, *Italian Primitives*, pp. 12–13), the *Tabernacle* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*ibid.*, fig. 4–B), and the *Altarfrontal* at Yale University, New Haven (*ibid.*, fig. 4), the seat of the throne is still tilted up in the pre-Coppesque manner, yet both display a high-curving throneback based on Coppo's Orvieto formula. In one more example from his diversified *oeuvre*—the *Madonna* in the Acton Collection, Florence (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 69)—the Magdalen Master employs the old-fashioned arcuated rectangle whereby head and halo of the Madonna project at the top; nevertheless, he adds the throne-back as well as the unifying drapery behind the figure, thus betraying the lateness of the panel. Likewise the thrones in panels attributed to Meliore Toscano also join this group. In the *Altarpiece* in S. Leolino, Panzano (*ibid.*, fig. 64a), which shows a frontal Madonna seated upon a backless throne, it is the precedent of Coppo which allows the seat of the throne to recede in perspective. The viewpoint is unified by equating the tilt of the footstool and seat as Coppo had done in his Orvieto panel. Therefore, the reversion to the backless throne is not proof of an early date so much as it is of a conscious archaism, possibly motivated by the terms of commission for the work. This archaism is to be found in a panel attributed to the shop of Coppo, the Madonna del Carmelo in S. Maria Maggiore, Florence (*ibid.*, fig. 61a). Besides the use of a backless throne, the Madonna is seen in a frontal position and her head and halo project forcefully above the rectangle of the panel. These features of an earlier period have often confused the dating of this panel. The throne itself, however, suggests a late date—note the recession of the seat and the way the bands on its legs run back in an inverse perspective. The openings between the legs confirm the throne's existence as mass in space. All of this helps to date the panel no earlier than the 1270's.

The thrones in panels attributed to the Bagnano Master are another instance where such criteria can be used in solving difficult problems of chronology. In the panels at S. Maria a Bagnano (*ibid.*, fig. 74a) and Montefioralli (Garrison, *Italian Romanesque*, No. 191), the thrones are even more insistently flat than those of the Bigallo Master, but the doubling of the cushions in the Bagnano panel and the drapery falling from the throne in the Montefioralli panel, together with the throne-back and the half-length angels in both, are references to the Coppesque system.

[22] Amongst many examples: the fifth-century mosaics on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome: the *Madonna* on the palimpsest wall, S. Maria Antiqua, Rome; the *Paris Psalter* (B. N., MS grec 139); the *Homilies of Gregory* (B. N., MS grec 510); the *Zoe* mosaic in Hagia Sophia. A similar form is also used in the cube representing the rock in the scene of the *Marys at the Tomb* and in representations of altars.

Although the throne in Cimabue's *Virgin in Glory* (*fig. 7*) in the apse of the Upper Church of St. Francis in Assisi may seem unrelated to the other thrones of this group, it is one of the earliest examples of the prism style and, indeed, provides the clue to the entire group. From a platform, shaped like a sweeping hemicycle,[23] the capacious throne with its two occupants, God the Father and the Virgin, rises in the midst of a great, surrounding host of saints and angels. The throne is foreshortened, each part more or less obedient to a perspective system in which orthogonals tend to converge. The sides of the footstool, however, are on a diagonal, suggesting thereby that the stool be seen from one side whereas the throne is seen frontally. This duality of viewpoint, recalling the Bigallo Master's formula, helps determine the early date of this representation in Cimabue's *oeuvre*. Nevertheless, the throne is remarkably advanced in the feeling for volumes. Its receding arms especially have a prismatic bulk. Even more impressive is the convincing curve of the recess in the platform, which displays a feeling for space far more developed than that of Coppo.

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which Cimabue was inspired by earlier traditions in Roman and Byzantine art. On the other hand, his *Virgin in Glory* depends logically upon the developments of Coppo and upon the endeavors of Dugento artists to measure volumes and space. Thus Cimabue continues the tendency seen in Coppo to unify the elements of the throne into larger surfaces instead of thin, decorated bands, and he introduces terminals and finials of lathed woodwork, a motif that will be of great consequence later. Another Coppesque tendency is advanced here; the back of the throne projects even farther above the heads of the figures so that they are entirely in a defined picture area. Cimabue also introduces a stepped footstool which will subsequently become important for the greater mobility of the figures.

There is no external evidence for the dating of the Assisi frescoes, and art historical criticism has dated them all the way from the 1260's to 1302.[24] But it appears from the foregoing analysis of the throne of the *Virgin in Glory*, that its structural solidity and its plausible space occupation must place it between Coppo's Orvieto *Madonna* of about 1268, on the one hand, and Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna* of 1285 and Cimabue's own *Madonna with St. Francis*, on the other hand.

No other work of Cimabue remains which contains a throne belonging to this third group, but four panels bearing his influence may be considered here, although their dates are uncertain and sometimes considerably later. The earliest is probably the *Madonna*[25] in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, a Florentine work, influenced by the Sienese *Rucellai Madonna*. Here the low, compact throne is seen slightly from the left, yet allowing a view of the receding right side. The *Madonna*[26] in S. Remigio, Florence, though much cut down at the sides and bottom, follows

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[23] Similar in construction to that which appears behind the Evangelists in the *Stauronikita Codex 43* but, as A. M. Friend Jr. points out ("The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts, Part II", *Art Studies*, V, 1929, pp. 9–22), it relates rather to the *exedra*, often represented in antique wall-painting. Closer to the Cimabue representations are the hemicycles in the *Paris Gregory* manuscript (B. N., MS grec 510) in the scene of the Pentecost (Omont, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV) and the Council of Constantinople (*ibid.*, Pl. L) where the hemicycle serves as a platform for throne and figures.

[24] Important critical chronologies of Cimabue's works are summarized in the *Mostra Giottesca*, pp. 259 ff.

[25] *ibid.*, fig. 90.

[26] *ibid.*, fig. 94.

closely in style, while the *Madonna*[27] in Mosciano and the one[28] in the Acton Collection, Florence, show a more relaxed style in drapery, postures, and faces and substitute a hanging held up by angels for a throne-back. In addition, the feet of the Mosciano *Madonna* are placed on an arched footstool. Therefore, these last two panels may be dated closer to the end of the century, although they retain the box throne with a view of the side.

Since these four panels share certain Cimabuesque qualities, it is not unreasonable to suppose they followed a prototype executed by Cimabue himself. If this prototype were a panel, painted in Florence in an early period, perhaps shortly before the master went to Assisi, it would account for his wide influence in Florence which the complex throne of the Assisi fresco could scarcely have exerted.

Such a hypothetical panel by Cimabue might also help in understanding the group of Sienese thrones which follow this formula and whose outstanding example is the throne of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* (*fig. 8*) by Guido da Siena. A discussion of Guido has always involved the art historian in the question of Guido's place in the Dugento.[29] It would seem that an analysis of the thrones in his panels would provide evidence of the artist's period and the influences upon him. In the archetype in the Palazzo Pubblico the spaciousness around the head of the Madonna, the cusped arch, the wide curve of the throne-back, the width of the throne itself are features which place Guido at a period later than Coppo. Furthermore, the solidity of the throne and the view of the side relate it to the Cimabuesque thrones just discussed.

Lavishly overhauled some thirty years later in the shop of Duccio, the construction and decoration of Guido's original throne can be inferred only from the three panels produced in his shop and now in the Siena Pinacoteca,[30] the Uffizi,[31] and in the Gallery at Arezzo.[32] The first, the so-called Galli-Dunn *Madonna*, is the closest,[33] being most probably a copy of the Palazzo Pubblico panel by a shop worker who did not grasp the principle of the throne seen from one side and who, therefore, introduced the right side as well. Here is the more familiar banding and decoration which had evolved through the thirteenth century and which must have appeared on the throne of the Palazzo Pubblico panel. Certainly the marble inlay seen today had no place in the decorative system prevalent in the latter half of the Dugento.[34] This is borne out

[27] *ibid.*, fig. 92.

[28] *ibid.*, fig. 93 a.

[29] One of the most recent and best-considered studies of the problem is that of Richard Offner, "Guido da Siena", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1950, pp. 61–90.

[30] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 198.

[31] *ibid.*, fig. 140.

[32] *ibid.*, fig. 139. The fragment of a *Madonna*, No. 16 in the Siena Pinacoteca (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 26), is so close to the Arezzo panel in its preserved part that one is justified in imagining that the lower part of No. 16 (long ago cut off) also showed a diagonal view of the throne. If this is so, the seventeenth-century report of an inscription with the date of 1262 needs re-investigation (C. Brandi, "Una Madonna del 1262 ed ancora il problema di Guido da Siena," *L'Arte*, 1933, pp. 116–118). A diagonal view of the throne so soon after Coppo's Siena *Madonna* seems very unlikely.

[33] Offner, "Guido," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, pp. 62, 88.

[34] The hypothetical reconstruction of the throne of the Palazzo Pubblico panel made by Weigelt (*Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Leipzig, 1911, Pl. 63) varies in detail, being largely based on the throne of the *St. Peter Altarpiece* in the Siena Pinacoteca. Brandi, in discussing the recent cleaning ("Relazione sul restauro della Madonna di Guido

by what has been revealed through the recent cleaning of the picture. Where the Ducciesque paint has been scraped away at the right, the original surface can be read with some certainty, and it shows elements comparable to those on the throne of the Galli-Dunn *Madonna*. The difference in decorative system from that of Cimabue does not mean that Guido worked earlier in the century, but that he introduced Sienese features; the colonnade, for instance, was to reappear very soon in the *Rucellai Madonna*.

Of all the parts of the Palazzo Publico panel, the footstool is the most difficult to analyze.[35] It is unlikely that the present shape is original; if the Galli-Dunn *Madonna* can be read as a copy of the Guido work, it may be surmised that the sides of the footstool in the Palazzo Pubblico panel also ran back in perspective. The same feature is indicated in the Uffizi panel, while the repainting of the Arezzo panel offers no clue to the original footstool. The unusual shape of the present footstool in the Palazzo Pubblico panel may be accounted for, then, as the solution employed by the Ducciesque restorer to accomodate the inscription which was added at that later point.

The figure style also bears out the late dating here proposed for the Guidesque panels. The great width of the throne-back in the Palazzo Pubbico panel gives a generous space to the figure of the Madonna. This factor, in turn, fosters a new relationship between the Madonna and the Child whom she holds at arm's length. It constitutes a bold release of the Madonna and Child from the hieratic postures of the early Dugento, where the Christ figure was contained, symbolically and physically, within the outline of the Madonna. The diagonal view of the throne replaces hieratic frontality by a spatial diagonal which allows for greater mobility in the figures.[36]

The thrones which have been brought together in this group, while they vary in dating and provenance, share a number of qualities: decorative schemes are simplified; the cubic structure is emphasized; it is set into space, or rather, is used to create space. Cimabue's *Virgin in Glory* and a number of Cimabuesque panels suggest that it was that master who introduced the new scheme, possibly in an early, now lost panel. The similar design of the Guidesque thrones sug-

da Siena del 1221," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXVI, 1951, pp. 256 ff.; *idem.*, "Il restauro della Madonna di Coppo di Marcovaldo nella chiesa dei Servi di Siena," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXV, 1950, p. 170) uses the results to maintain the 1221 date of the panel by Guido.

[35] Offner, "Guido", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, pp. 88 ff.

[36] The shop of Guido produced other panels with thrones belonging to this category. The *St. Peter Altarfrontal* in the Academy in Siena (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 28a), generally considered a late shop work, has a throne which varies from the Guidesque style discussed above in the reverse perspective of the two expanding sides. Incorrect in optical experience, the device nevertheless gives undeniable solidity to the throne. Such a style had been used before, as in the *Madonna with Justinian and Constantine* in the south portal of Hagia Sophia of about 900 A.D. The *St. John Altarfrontal* in the Siena Pinacoteca (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 31a), despite inexplicably strong Byzantine characteristics, should be considered Sienese because of its general shape, frame, and compositional affinities in the smaller scenes to Guido, and because the throne of the St. John figure as well as those in the smaller scenes share the reverse perspective of the *St. Peter Altarfrontal* and the spatial interest of all Guidesque thrones. The archaism of the backless throne and the small, floating angels, if taken in conjunction with that archaizing trend of the second half of the thirteenth century discussed above (f. n. 21), prevents a dating too early in the century; by its associations, it would seem to belong in the 1270's. Among other examples of the throne seen in reverse perspective are *St. Anne and the Virgin*, Museo Civico, Pisa, attributed to Raniero di Ugolino (Sirén, *Toskanische Malerei*, fig. 46), and the Florentine *Madonna* in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge (Garrison, *Italian Romanesque*, No. 306).

gests an influence of Cimabue upon Guido and strengthens the belief that Guido worked in the late 1270's.

Once the artist had begun to carve out the space in this way, he could proceed to more advanced spatial definitions, and to a more complete coordination of the parts of the throne by means of a perspective system. Thus, the final group introduces what may be called the chair throne. This new style consists of wood-like members, lathed to circular and elliptical shapes. The terminals or legs at the rear run up as frames for the throne-back. The throne, then, is a built-up, carpentered object; as such it has a more naturalistic form. Numerous examples indicate that this type is of Byzantine origin;[37] its absence from medieval Roman painting and Italian manuscripts corroborates its Eastern source. Its absence from monumental art may be explained by the more informal, naturalistic implications in the chair itself. But in the cycle of Dugento Tuscan painting this factor would not have been a hindrance because of the usefulness of the chair throne in solving spatial problems. In fact, one of the first examples of this style in Tuscan painting occurs in Cimabue's *Four Evangelists*[38] in the webs of the choir vault of the Upper Church at Assisi.

In most earlier cases the chair throne seems to have been reserved for the Evangelists, representations of which had always followed a tradition mutable only within itself.[39] It is possible, however, to conceive of the transplantation of the chair throne from one iconographic setting to another, especially in the hands of a great and original artist working in a new monumental style. Traditionally, the Evangelists were usually shown in profile as they bent over their desks; with Cimabue both figures and thrones are seen diagonally but the adjustments are not yet complete. In the *St. John* the rear terminal does not maintain its place sufficiently in a farther plane, while the footstool strangely overlaps the platform and offers inadequate support for the Evangelist's raised left leg. In the *St. Luke* the desk encroaches on the area of the throne, while the footstool occupies an impossible position within the throne itself. In the *St. Mark*, on the other hand, the left foot is on the base of the desk, justifying the raised knee. As furniture and as structures in space, the desks of the Evangelists are also interesting. Their great arches scoop out generous spaces, and they rest on wide, arched bases; in both ways the third dimension is emphasized.

The first use of the chair throne in a representation of the Madonna may be the fresco of the *Madonna with St. Francis* (*fig. 9*) by Cimabue in the Lower Church at Assisi. The throne's farther side is now exposed, whereas in the earlier works it had been hidden by the figure of the Evangelist. However, the right side recedes more directly than the left, creating an effect of divergence. At the same time, the rear terminal post on the right looms forward far more

[37] In ivories: Pierce and Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, I, Pls. 97, 124, 125; the sixth-century throne of Maximian in Ravenna contains a panel of the *Virgin Enthroned* in a chair (Brehier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs Byzantins*, Paris, 1936, Pl. XXVII). In manuscripts: Omont, *Miniatures*, Pls. 80, 81, 82, 97.

[38] A. Nicholson, *Cimabue. A Critical Study*, Princeton, 1932, figs. 1–4.

[39] Friend (*op. cit.*, pp. 141–147) has demonstrated the development of the Evangelist types from classical representations of orators and philosophers, from Pompeian illusionistic, architectural scenes, and other, ultimately antique, sources.

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than its opposite on the left, and the forward terminal post on the right is not properly placed behind the footstool. Likewise the arches on the side of the footstool fail to move parallel to the primary diagonal established by the left side of the throne. All these discrepancies betray a tentativeness in the handling of a carpentered throne viewed at an angle. Nevertheless, the advance beyond the thrones of the Upper Church is definite and measurable. The double, arched footstool, neither so awkwardly placed as those of the Evangelists nor so illogical as that of the *Virgin in Glory*, continues the movement of the throne to which it belongs. And now it has a specific purpose; the Virgin's right foot is placed on the second step while her left foot rests on an additional tread above; and although this third step is neither clearly defined nor of determinable depth, it nevertheless justifies the raised leg supporting the Child. It will be recalled that Coppo, in his Orvieto *Madonna*, raised her right thigh in support of the Child but could furnish no visible prop for the raised right foot.

The experimentation apparent in the parts of the throne extends also to the angels who now have a new proximity to the Madonna and Child. Their spatial relations, less tenuous than those of the angels in the *Virgin in Glory*, presented considerable problems. The right forward angel is not clearly placed beside the throne, the left forward angel stands perilously on the rear edge of the platform, while the last two angels have no legitimate space at all. Such inconsistencies in the handling of the throne elements and the angels were to be extensively adjusted by the younger Duccio.

The chair throne was quickly accepted by painters, and early manifestations of it help to date the Lower Church fresco no later than the end of the 1270's. An early example is the little *Madonna with Three Franciscans*[40] by Duccio in the Siena Pinacoteda. Backless but with lathed parts, the throne constitutes a variation on the theme of the chair throne. This panel clearly antedates the *Rucellai Madonna*; its throne shows none of the small, Gothic openings seen in the other work, and the spatial problems of the throne and its footstool is not yet so knowingly worked out as in the *Rucellai Madonna*. The reversion to the backless throne also argues for an early date, although it is balanced by the innovation of the angels holding a hanging behind the Virgin. Allowing for an interval between this panel and the *Rucellai Madonna*, the *Madonna with Three Franciscans* may be dated approximately 1280.

The rendering of the throne itself presupposes the manner and the furniture-style of Cimabue. Its diagonal sides, its chair-like construction, and its lathed parts may be associated with similar elements in the throne of the Lower Church fresco, while its square shape with great, arched openings recall the desks in Cimabue's *Four Evangelists*.

The footstool would seem to have no other source than the one in Lower Church fresco, although Duccio masters its use sufficiently to omit the additional top step and to place the Madonna's feet on the remaining two. The entire footstool is sunk into a recess under the throne so that the two-dimensional surface (on which are found the monks, the Madonna and Child, and the angels) is maintained. It is interesting that in the Franciscan panel, Duccio gives the footstool a double arch, augmenting the system of curves and rippling lines on the picture

[40] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, fig. 3.

surface and, at the same time, breaking the insistent depth of the large, single arch as used by Cimabue. Going a step further than Cimabue, Duccio more completely separates his Madonna from the gold ground by the device of the hanging held by angels. Far from being immobilized in a frontal position, the Virgin's contrapposto vitalizes the entire picture surface.

The throne of the *Rucellai Madonna* of 1285 in the Uffizi (*fig. 10*) echoes his own earlier work in the two-stepped, double-arched footstool and the longer, narrower lathed terminals. The position and shape of the throne are very close to those of the Cimabue fresco in the Lower Church, where there is a similar style of carpentered, lathed chair with curtain-back and diagonal view of the sides. To achieve his more convincing diagonal, Duccio narrows the throne and hides the right side, thus accentuating the unequivocal view from the left. For the same purpose he so places the footstool as to overlap the throne.

The most significant aspect of the throne in the *Rucellai Madonna* is certainly the increased understanding of the problems of perspective involved in the diagonal view of the throne. Whereas the footstool of the *Madonna with St. Francis* was incompletely aligned with the throne, and neither it nor the footstool diminished correctly, the throne of the *Rucellai Madonna* largely rectifies these errors. This was a problem with which Coppo had dealt and which Cimabue had gone far towards solving; in the Rucellai panel, Duccio more clearly coordinates the various parts of the throne.

The total construction is taller, more slender than in Cimabue, an indication of advancing Gothicism, which is also reflected in the over-all perforation of the surface. The tall, narrow openings recall the Gothicizing architecture of the *St. John Altarpiece* in the Siena Pinacoteca of somewhat earlier date, as well as the elegant forms found in contemporary French manuscripts.[41] Cimabue himself avoided these openings since they broke the solidity of the mass, the very quality he wished most to assert.

The relationship between the *Rucellai Madonna* and the Lower Church fresco by Cimabue is further demonstrated by the figure of the Virgin, who is seen in three-quarter view, her left knee drawn up to support the Child, towards whom she nods. All these elements repeat the Cimabue posture. The angels too derive essentially from those of the Cimabue fresco. Like them, Duccio's angels share the space occupied by the Virgin and justify their presence by actively holding the sides of the throne. They differ chiefly in their gracious genuflection, a posture alien to the sterner art of Cimabue.[42]

[41] As, for example, the *Psalter* of St. Louis (B. N., MS Lat. 10525), illustrated in H. Martin, *Joyeux de l'enluminure*, Paris, 1928.

[42] The use of the chair throne seems to have gained greater impact from Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna*, which was displayed prominently in the city of Florence, than from the less accessible fresco by Cimabue in Assisi. The Cimabuesque painter of the *Madonna* in the Servi Church, Bologna (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 84a) follows his master closely in the type of the Madonna, while the angels and the lyre-back suggest the lingering influence of Coppo. The disks and ovals of the terminals and the unbroken surfaces between resemble those features in the Lower Church fresco. Duccio's influence is seen in the arches below, opening into the gold ground and giving buoyancy to the throne structure. See also the Florentine *Madonna* in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City (G. Coor-Achenbach, "A Rare Representative of Dugento Painting," *Art Quarterly*, X, 1947, fig. 1), which imitates the structure of the Rucellai throne in a manner similar to that of the Bologna panel.

In the large *Madonna* (Nicholson, *op. cit.*, fig. 38) in the Louvre, which is often attributed to Cimabue himself,

In the *Madonna (fig. 11)* from Sta. Trinità, now in the Uffizi, Cimabue brings the Tuscan developments of the preceding half century to a climax. That this panel is the latest in the chronology of his own work is proved by the throne alone. The visual unity between the throne and the footstool, which Cimabue had groped for in his *Madonna with St. Francis* and which Duccio had approximated with his fuller understanding of space, is now achieved in a new and more convincing scheme. It seems probable that the *Sta. Trinità Madonna* was executed after the *Rucellai Madonna*, at a time when Cimabue could have appraised the attainments of the younger artist.[43]

In this panel, after a long succession of thrones seen from one side, the throne is again frontally placed. The diagonal view had, after all, been a part of the effort to plumb the picture space, an effort initiated by Coppo. After the Rucellai panel, the objective was sufficiently accomplished for Cimabue to revert to the more hieratic, and therefore more satisfactory, frontal arrangement. In the new, frontal throne the various members recede in zones parallel to the picture plane. Cimabue charts his recessions by thin lines on the platform, on the treads of the footstool, and atop the chair arms. Far from being a perfected system of perspective, this is nevertheless more advanced than anything seen hitherto.

The footstool which had been so autonomous through most of the century, but which Coppo, and Duccio, and Cimabue himself, had tried to reduce to the same discipline as the rest of the throne, is finally subordinated to the perspective system and built into the throne as an adjunct. And like the footstool, every other part of this frontal chair throne plays a part in generating space. Arches relate to the outer, polygonal piers on which the throne rests, while a hemicycle, running back in a deep curve, joins the outer piers. The gold ground between the piers accommodates four half-length figures from the Old Testament, their presence confirming the architectural character of the structure. Growing out of this lower section is the massive throne itself, surrounded by eight angels who stand on the platform and hold the throne. The sides of the throne and their bases, as well as the steps of the footstool, have the cubic density observed in parts of the earlier throne in the *Virgin in Glory*. Now, combined with the chair throne, it

but which is undoubtedly by a Florentine follower and of a somewhat later date, the throne adheres to the Cimabuesque formula in such matters as postures and facial types, while the amplitude of space for the figures, the scale, and the use of medallions in the frame, distinctly relate the panel to the *Rucellai Madonna*. The throne parts resemble those of the Bologna panel and the Lower Church fresco but the arches beneath are derived from Duccio. In a larger sense, though, this panel was influenced by Duccio; the alignment of throne and footstool, so adroitly adjusted in the Rucellai panel, is here already common property. The cusped arch of the footstool reappears in the *Madonna with Scenes from her Life* in the Museo Civico, Pisa (*Mostra Giottesca*, figs. 24a–e), which is variously attributed (*ibid.*, pp. 79, 83; Garrison, *Italian Romanesque*, p. 26), but all the new, space-generating features are resolved into a flat, nonspatial throne.

Finally, the type of the chair throne may also help in understanding the curious throne in the *Altarfrontal* by the Magdalen Master (*Mostra Giottesca*, fig. 66a) in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris. The frontal throne recedes on either side in reverse perspective; it has the solidity of the box throne used elsewhere by this master. But to the terminal posts on either side, he adds a third just beside the foot of the Child, thus shifting the viewpoint to the left and producing a diagonal effect. The use of the lathed terminals also suggests some familiarity with the chair throne. Belonging to an older generation, the Magdalen Master was little able to absorb the new theories of Cimabue and Duccio, yet his Paris panel indicates the pervasiveness of their influence.

[43] Generally, critics have favored an early dating for the *Sta. Trinità Madonna* (*Mostra Giottesca*, pp. 259–265).

is a new type of furniture with a decoration of molded squares, with attached terminal columns, and with a visual, structural relation to the scaffold-like platform beneath.

Indeed, the throne challenges the artist's ingenuity. It is frontal, yet it moves deep into space; it encloses figures beneath, and supports not only the Madonna and Child but the angels as well. In terms of the picture's composition, it rises in the tapering levels of a pyramid which would, if extended, reach an apex at the head of the Madonna. In his mastery of the problems involved, Cimabue goes far beyond his Assisi frescoes and beyond the refinements achieved by Duccio in the *Rucellai Madonna*.

In the early fourteenth century, Tuscan painting created thrones of a very different type. In Duccio's *Maestà* the marble throne with Cosmatic inlay became the prototype for many a Sienese example. In Florence, Giotto's *Madonna* from the Ognissanti created a new, more Gothic style of throne which excercised a pervasive influence for a number of years. But these thrones, though they reflected the new age of which they were a part, are based, in their understanding of form and space, upon the efforts of the Dugento and its final statement in Cimabue's *Sta. Trinità Madonna*.

SHAMANISTIC FIGURES FROM THE CAUCASUS*

by JOHN F. HASKINS

Several years ago a pair of copper alloy statuettes appeared on the New York art market (*figs. 1–4*). One of them became the property of the Guennol Collection and is currently on loan to the Brooklyn Museum; the other entered the permanent collection of the Albright Art Gallery. Both figures were published in an article prepared by Mr. Edgar C. Schenck for the bulletin of the Albright Gallery.[1]

When first exhibited, these sculptures became the subject of considerable comment among those interested in Asiatic art. Most of this discussion was due to the fact that the figurines were supposed to have come from the ancient Near East. Southern Mesopotamia, generally, and Tello, specifically, were frequently mentioned as the provenance. It was immediately apparent to those familiar with the Tello excavation that it was inaccurate to assign these objects to this locale.[2]

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[1] Edgar C. Schenck, "Additions to the Permanent Collection. Two Near Eastern Figurines," *Gallery Notes*, XVII/1, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Buffalo, New York, January 1953, pp. 2–4. Schenck stated that the Guennol figure had been recleaned by the Brooklyn Museum. "... The two figurines came from a collection in Baghdad in an uncleaned state; they were first cleaned by the Maison André in Paris...", and *ibid.*, p. 5, letter from M. J. André. A personal communication from Mrs. Elizabeth Riefsthal assures me that this is not the case; the figure is still in the same condition as it was when the museum received it.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 3, n. 4. André Parrot, *Tello*, Paris, 1948. The latter publication covers 20 campaigns of excavation through the years 1877 to 1933, and although the monuments listed therein range in date from the IV. millenium B. C. to the third century A.D., neither the Guennol nor the Albright figures, nor anything like them is mentioned in the volume.

They were unique when compared to any monument from the well-known sites in Iraq, and they certainly did not seem representative of the material from the Sumerian period. The figurines appeared to be genuine, but the date, provenance and culture which they represented was not clear. After a fairly lengthy interval, during which the pieces were acquired by the two collections, and after they had both been attacked and defended by several scholars, they were proved to be of considerable antiquity. Proof of age was established through a spectrographic analysis,[3] reference to which will be made in a later paragraph. The metallurgical report was appended to Mr. Schenck's article and mentioned a very early date as being credible. The early date, supported only by reference to ancient bronzes generally, led Mr. Schenck to announce that the figures should be dated ca. 2800–2400 B.C.[4] Continuing his discussion, Schenck stated that Sumerian Mesopotamia was the correct provenance for the figures. Neither of these statements, it would seem, can be fully underwritten. The parallels drawn and the connections made between our figures and Mesopotamian art of the early III. millenium B.C. would appear to be open to question. Schenck refers to the *Stele of Sargon*, "ca. 2850 B.C.", the *Goblet of Gudea* and a bronze *Kneeling Diety*, both "ca. 2400 B.C.," as possible parallels.[5] There is admittedly a tenuous similarity in that all figures mentioned have narrow waists and heavy thighs. As will be shown, however, this could be true of a large number of representations of the human figure that covers a wide geographical and chronological range.

A monument which has no known parallel or prototype is frequently the subject of controversy. Unlike material brought to light during an excavation, works which are chance finds or are acquired far from their point of origin often need considerable explanation before they are accepted, and this is the case here.

We can agree with Mr. Young's technical analysis, if not with his dating. The works are undoubtedly genuine. If we accept them as examples of the art of antiquity, it remains for us to assign them to their proper date and provenance. While it is difficult to say the final word about any object which is so far removed in time, we shall attempt to present some evidence and comparative material that will make probable a date and locale of origin.

The two figurines (*figs. 1–4*) are nearly identical; except where otherwise noted, therefore, the description of one piece will suffice for both. The author has chosen the Guennol sculpture since it is the one of the pair which he has handled. The two sculptures do not at first glance seem to have been cast from the same mold. However, solid-cast copper alloy, the material from which they are made, is subject to more shrinkage than is bronze[6]. This would explain the many

[3] William J. Young, "Technical Analysis of the Albright Figure," *Gallery Notes*, XVII/I, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, pp. 4–5.

[4] Schenck, *op. cit.* See also the excerpt from a letter by M. J. André, *ibid.*, p. 5: "... Tout d'abord, ces bronzes sont d'une authenticité incontestable; la patine est due à une transformation profonde du metal en oxyde de cuivre; le bronze présente toutes les caractéristiques des pièces de l'époque sumérienne dont nos avons eu, pour le Musée du Louvre, plusieurs exemplaires à soigner et à dégager de l'oxyde...".

[5] *ibid.*, It is only fair to mention that Mr. Schenck did not propose his argument as the only possible solution: "... This publication seeks to bring together some pertinent information ... so that they may become fair game for future study. Its conclusions are offered tentatively in the hope that further research will make possible more accurate dating and provenance...".

[6] As a material, bronze is difficult to classify. Basically, it is a binary combination of copper and tin. The pro-

surface differences, while others may have resulted from the individual finishing of each piece after casting, or from damage due to either burial or excavation.

Each of the figures is approximately 17.3 cm. high, of exceptional beauty, and conceived with a remarkable degree of sophistication. The pieces are representations of a bearded, nearly nude male stepping forward on his left foot, the right heel being raised from the ground. He leans slightly forward at the waist; both knees are flexed; the arms are bent and fists clenched. The figure is skillfully composed, and while there is no attempt to counterpoise or twist this strictly frontal statuette, it presents as pleasing an appearance from a three-quarter view as it does from the direct front, rear or profile views. Smooth curves are broken by angles formed by the out-thrust chin with its pointed beard, bent arms and waist, and the flexed knees. The detailed rendering of the facial features and the easy naturalism of the powerful thighs are a pleasant contrast to the summary treatment of the bulky shoulders and cylindrical torso. The curving horns on the headdress counterbalance the sharply upturned toes of the boots, presenting a pleasing rhythm when the figure is seen in profile.

The figure wears a thickly rolled belt at the waist, and very large boots with upswept toes. The boots are unusual. They have a thick sole on which the whole foot rests, a heavy spat or gaiter-like, upper part through which the toes, seemingly of lighter material, protrude and then swing upward in an exaggerated curve terminating in blunt points. They are reminiscent of some of the fantastic footgear of the Renaissance, or the elongated *solleret* seen on some medieval armor.

The headdress represents the scalp, including the horns and ears, of a mouflon or an ibex.[7] The horns do not have the characteristic striations of those of an ibex. In view of the general excellence of the rest of the figure, one feels that if the artist had intended to depict ibex horns he would have represented them as such. Deep cuts or twists would have held in the mold.

A cape thrown over the shoulders resembles a pack and has the form of the body, wings and tail of some large bird, probably an eagle or a vulture.[8] Either bird would have a sufficient wing

portions, however, vary considerably. This variety is due to many factors; in some cases, impurities in the metals, in others, the purpose for which an object made of this material was intended. The term "bronze" was used as loosely in antiquity as it is today. Many objects which are made of nearly pure copper are called bronze. Contrary to popular belief, pure copper can be cast. Delicate surface detail, however, will often be lost because of the shrinkage of copper.

[7] The horns seem to be those of the Asiatic big-horned sheep, *ovis musimon*, called "mouflon" in English and not to be confused with the French *mouffeon*, which is used as a collective term and not for any single species. The mouflon is now common throughout Europe, and there were numbers of them on the islands of Corsica and Sardinia in the time of Pliny who mentioned seeing them there. This sheep originated in Asia, however. The possibility of an ibex or some other member of the goat order should not be discarded entirely.

[8] The general contours of the bird seen in profile suggest a vulture. Cf. Schenck, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 3, however, who states that neither the naturalists of the Smithsonian Institution nor of the Buffalo Museum of Science were able to identify the bird. Mr. Fred T. Hall of the Buffalo Museum suggested a vulture. The common European vulture, *aegypius monachus* (also *vultur niger*, and *v. monachus*—often called the "black vulture") is found in Inner Asia from the Caucasus to the Altai mountains. See: J. L. Peters, *Check List of the Birds of the World*, I, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 260 ff.; Roy Chapman Andrews, "Explorations in the Gobi Desert," *The National Geographic Magazine*, LXIII/6, Washington, D.C., June 1933, pp. 653–716 (plate, p. 697, also pp. 677 ff.: Black vulture from *Baga Bogdo* in the Eastern Altai region).

span to cover the figure as shown. The head of the bird is gone, and the skin has been cut in order that it might pass over the man's head and form a rounded lapel across his chest. There are three vertical striations, representing feathers, on the bird's tail and these may have been added with a graver or a file after the pieces were cast. It is extremely difficult to hold delicate surface detail in a tin-less copper casting. If plumage were indicated on the model, it would not have stayed fast when the metal shrank from the mold.

A hole, approximately 2 mm. in diameter, passes through the right hand. Since the thumb and fingers curve around this opening, it must have been designed to hold some object that projected above and below the fist.[9] Whatever was held has not been preserved, and it is likely, therefore, that the hole was bored after the piece was taken from the mold, otherwise a portion of it would have remained. The left hand is merely closed with the thumb held tightly over the forefinger.

The man himself is broad shouldered and has a deep chest, narrow waist and bulky thighs. The head is tilted backward on a short thick neck and the chin is out-thrust. A thick block-like beard, terminating in a blunt point, juts forward from the chin but the rest of the face is clean shaven. The profile view of the beard has led to the suggestion that it might have been intended as a bird's beak or a continuation of the bird-cape.[10] The chin adornment does resemble a false beard more than a natural growth of hair, but if a fantastic birdman combination was intended by the artist, his effort was not very successful. It is difficult to believe that the sculptor had in mind a pelican.

The nose is slightly curved, and although it has a definite bridge, it is at the same angle as the sloping forehead. The inlay of the left eye is missing from the Albright figure. Mr. Schenck has mentioned the roguishly sardonic expression that results from this accident.

The eyebrows are presented by a deep incision running across the forehead in an unbroken line. Aside from the beard, the only other suggestion of hair is sideburns in very low relief which are not well integrated with the beard and disappear beneath the headdress.

One minor detail of the head-covering remains to be described. There is a thick roll at the brim causing it to resemble a helmet. It is possible that a metal headpiece might have been intended rather than an animal scalp. Metal helmets in the form of animal heads exist,[11] of course, but one of this size and shape would be enormously heavy and overbalanced. Both the bird-cape and the horned cap would seem to be the skin and scalp of actual animals. Mr. Schenck describes the roll on the brim as "scalloped, perhaps intended to represent a braid." This cannot be seen clearly in a photograph, and does not appear to be true of the Guennol figure. A roll of leather is more likely.

In addition to the pleasing combination of curves and angles, the smooth modelling, particularly on the legs, and the well realized facial detail, the artist has captured a sense of immediacy

[9] The staff held by the Albright figure is a modern addition.

[10] Schenck, *op. cit.*

[11] See Thomas T. Hoopes, *Armor and Arms*, Catalogue of the St. Louis Museum of Art, St. Louis, Missouri, 1954, frontispiece, VI–V. century Greek bronze helmet found at Metaponto, Italy.

in the figure. The apparently static position is, in reality, composed with a feeling of tenseness. This appearance of tenseness and motion is accentuated, particularly on the Guennol figure, by the staring effect of the eyes. One does not see this figure striding in a procession bearing gifts or offerings; neither does a guard nor a representation of divine justice and retribution seem to have been intended. One feels, instead, an element of rhythm which is projected beyond the sculpture into action. The frozen imbalance in the bent torso and flexed knees calls for further motion. This posture of tense frontality suggests the formality of a ritual dance.

The light, shell inlay contrasts as strongly now with the green patina as it must have done with the newly cast copper. This causes an intensity of expression, perhaps even stronger than intended by the artist. One feels, however, that this effect was intentional. The sculptures possess a wild vitality. It is this feature, combined with the iconographic evidence, which gives the first hint of provenance and provides a clue to their proper place in a culture pattern.

Terms such as mythological hero, warrior god, and deity which have been used to describe the sculpture, do not really seem to be accurate. The pose suggests the interpretation of a dance step rather than an attempt to reproduce the combative or menacing stance of a warrior. The posture is not that of a god receiving nor a suppliant making an offering.

Partly nude male figures with wide staring eyes, ski-toed boots, rolled belts, bird-capes, and horned headdresses, and who seem to be dancing, point to a ritual more closely connected with shamanism than any other form of religious expression. It is well-known that shamanism has been spread over a wide region for a long time,[12] but the focal point of this ritualistic behavior lies in the northern regions. Trans-Caucasia,[13] the Urals,[14] the Altai,[15] Inner Asia,[16] and Mongolia[17] seem to have been regions in which the population practiced and held to shamanistic ritual for as long a period as man has lived there. In many of these areas it is still prevalent.[18]

Shamanistic practices have been discussed too often to warrant extended treatment in these pages, and the ubiquitous character of this religion has already been mentioned. It was the

[12] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, New York, 1946, pp. 87–89, and p. 247: "…shamanism is an ubiquitous situation occuring among primitive peoples nearly everywhere…". See also Mercea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme*, Paris, 1951, ch. V and VI; Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zur Problem des Schamanismus*, Lund, 1939, pp. 40 ff.

[13] Eliade, *loc. cit.*

[14] A. Spitsin, "Shamanskiya Izobrazheniya," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obschestva* (hereafter *ZIRAO*), VIII, part 1, St. Petersburg, 1906, pp. 29 ff.; A. P. Smirnov, "Ocherki Drevnei i Srednevekovoï Istorii Narodov Srednego Povolzh'ya i Prikam'ya, IV, K Voprosu o Shamanskikh Izobrazheniyakh," *Materiali I Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, (hereafter *MI*), XXVIII, Akademii Nauk (Materials and Researches for the Archaeology of the USSR, Academy of Science), Moscow–Leningrad, 1952, pp. 250–274.

[15] L. P. Potapov, *Ocherki Po Istorii Altaitsev* (Outlines for the History of the Altai), Moscow–Leningrad, 1953, pp. 13–28; L. P. Potapov and Karl Menges, "Materialien zur Volkskunde der Türkvölker des Altaj," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, XXXVII, Berlin, 1934, p. 55, and pp. 68 ff.

[16] Eliade, *loc. cit.*; Ch. de Harlez, *La Religion nationale des Tartares orientaux*; *Mandchous et Mongols*, Mémoire couronnés et autres Mémoires publiés par l'académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, XL, Brussels, 1887, pp. 13 ff.

[17] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern*, Stuttgart, 1925; de Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff; and Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

[18] Martha Boyer, *Mongol Jewellery*, Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 102–103; S. M. Shirokogoroff, *The Psychomental Complex of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai, 1934, *passim*.

practice of many North American Indians and has, therefore, been studied by a large number of modern anthropoligists and folklorists.[19] Certain elements of the early Chinese religion of Shang suggests shamanism and promiment among them is the practice of divination.[20] Much of northern Asia was, and still is, inhabited by peoples with religious leanings in this direction. Accounts by early historians suggest that a form of shamanism was practiced by the Scythians[21] as well as by the later Huns.[22] It was common among the people called Turco-Mongol, Tataric and, linguistically, Ural-Altaic.[23]

Shamanism consists essentially of calling upon the aid of some natural force through a human agent for good or evil. The natural force is usually represented by an animal. The human trans-mittor was marked by nature in a manner which set him apart from his fellows, possibly through epilepsy, and by inclination following a ritual initiation. As a true medium, he was known as a shaman. Terms such as witch-doctor, medicine-man and diviner are also used. The shaman achieved a state of trance after an exhaustive dance in ritual costume. The activities were ac-companied by noise-making instruments, such as cymbals and drums, which were used to drive away undesired elements, or to summon desirable ones whose assistance was needed at the time. The shaman's costume often represented the animal or animals in which the desired external force was invested. Every powerful shaman possessed an external spirit or "familiar" in the shape of a stallion, an elk, a black bear, an eagle, a vulture or a boar.[24]

It is difficult to place the Albright and Guennol statuettes accurately by stylistic parallels alone, although, as will be shown, such parallels exist. The territory covered by peoples who practice shamanism is very large. There are indications, however, about which more will be said later, that would seem to indicate the Caucasus, rather than any other area which holds to this ritual, as the correct locale of origin for these figures.

The technical achievement of surface finish in a difficult material, the realization of anatomy in the wide heavy shoulders, wasp waist and muscular thighs, may all be seen in other repre-

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[19] Alfred Metraux and Gertrude Prokasch Kurath, "Shamanism," *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, II, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1950, pp. 1002–1004.

[20] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious Systems of China*, VI, part 2, Leiden, 1910, p. 1187; Karl Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society*; *Liao* (A.D. 907–A.D. 1125), New York, 1949, p. 8, p. 217 and note.

[21] Eliade, *Chamanisme, op. cit.*, Ch. IV, *passim*; Herodotus, *History*, IV, 67–68: "Soothsayers among the Scythians". By the time Herodotus knew the Scythians, they had first been "Persianized" and them Hellenized for nearly half a millenium. Despite the addition of Persian and Greeks gods, however, they clung to certain of their shamanistic habits. See Potapov, *Altai* '53, *op. cit.*, *passim.*; and S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura Naseleniya Gornogo Altaya v Skifskoe Vremya* (The Culture of the Populations of the Altai Mountains during the Scythian Period), Akademiya Nauk, Moscow–Leningrad, 1953, introd. and *passim*. These latter works indicate that shamanism was the religion (if it can be called that) of the Scyths.

[22] Jordanis, "Getica (De Actibus Getarum)," *Monumenta Germanica Historica*, ser. AA, Va, sec. 255; *ibid.*, sec. 183; Priscus, "Fragmenta," *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum*, IV, 7, 85.

[23] The perplexing problems of ethnic groupings is certainly not made easier by terminology. The migrations of peoples in the past, and the lack of positive philological evidence has led to confusion about many peoples of Central Asia. The appearance of the Magyars in Hungary and the Finns in Finland, during the ninth-tenth centuries, extended the Ural-Altaic tongues into Europe, and along with them the shamanistic practices of these invaders.

[24] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Origin of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai, 1933, pp. 203 f.; Wittfogel and Fêng, *Liao, op. cit.*, pp. 202 f.

sentations.[25] The structural quality of the legs in our two figures calls to mind the works of Crete and Mycenae,[26] and the narrow waisted torso could recall certain bronzes from Cyprus.[27] The rolled belt or girdle has been called an ancient Near Eastern symbol of power. There may even be a hint in this motif of art from the sea coast of Syria.[28] Parallels between materials from the Caucasus and the Syrian coast have been made before.[29]

Shell inlay for eyes is ubiquitous in early bronzes. An almost identical use may be seen on a female silver statuette now in Berlin, said to be from Hamadan, Iran.[30] This piece is often referred to as "Hittite," but this is possibly erroneous.[31] The deeply scored, continuous eyebrow might almost be called a "beauty mark" on the faces of human representations from the ancient Near East, a tradition which continues to the present day.

Schenck stated that the beards on our two figures most closely resemble those of statuettes and reliefs from Sumeria. The angle formed by the head and outthrust chin bears a closer resemblance to the statuette of a bearded man from an unknown site in Syria (*fig. 5*),[32] and one of the monuments from the Kasbek Treasure (*fig. 6*) which was found in the Caucasus. Weber called the Syrian statuette Hittite,[33] but Mueller's original appellation, Asiano-Syrian, while very generalized, is probably better. Tallgren has quite rightly compared the Berlin figure with examples from the Kasbek Treasure, and others have also noted this similarity.[34]

The ethnic type shown by the Guennol and Albright figures, the Berlin bronze from Syria, as well as objects from the Kasbek Treasure, seems to have existed for a considerable period of

[25] Helmuth Th. Bossert, *Altkreta*, Berlin, 1923, fig. 78; *Annals of the British School at Athens*, VII, pl. 17; Bossert, *op. cit.*, pls. 87–88; "Steatite beaker from Hagia Triada"; *Jahrb. d. Archaeol. Inst.*, Berlin, 1915, pl. 88. See also, figures on the Vaphio cups and a small statuette from Kampos, Bossert, *op. cit.*, figs. 251–252; *Ill. Lon. News*, 27 Aug., 1949.

[26] Cf. Valentine K. Mueller, *Fruehe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, Augsburg, 1929, pl. XIV, fig. 237, and pp. 47 and 51 ff., male figure from Crete with rolled belt and exposed genitals.

[27] *Ill. Lon. News*, 27 Aug., 1949, p. 317, "figure excavated from Cyprus".

[28] Cf. Mueller, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 370; Stefan Przeworski, "Kaukasische Bronzefiguren in Polnischen Sammlungen und ihre Syrischen Parallelen," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV, Prague, 1931, pp. 231–238.

[29] Przeworski, *loc. cit.*, A. M. Tallgren, "Caucasian Monuments; the Kasbek Treasure," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (hereafter *ESA*), V, Helsinki, 1930, pp. 109–182, and fig. 13–14; Countess P. S. Uvarova, *Mogil'niki Severnogo Kavkaza*; *Materiali po Arkheologii Kavkaza* (Excavations from the Northern Caucasus; Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus), VIII (Atlas), Moscow, 1900.

[30] Mueller, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV, figs. 417–419; better illustrated in Rudolph Naumann, *Die Hethiter*, Berlin, 1948, pl. 18. See also, O. Weber, "Die Kunst der Hethiter," *Orbis Pictus*, Bd. IX.

[31] Even if the piece were found in Iran, this would not necessarily be indicative of locale of origin; this statuette probably originated on the Syrian coast.

[32] Mueller, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 384–386, "Bronze statuette of a bearded man, provenance unknown, given generally as Syria". Bossert, *Altsyrien*, Tuebingen, 1951, fig. 591. There are several other figures which closely resemble this statuette. Cf. Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Some of these figurines have been regarded as falsifications: cf., S. Roncevalles, "Faelschungen", *Mélanges de l'université S. Joseph, Beyrouth*, XIX, 1935. It is possible that one or more of these figures may be genuine as is probably the case of some statuettes of an earlier date. Cf. Edith Porada, "The Warrior with the Plumed Helmet," *Berytus*, VII/1, 1942, pp. 57–63; Kazimierz Majewski, "O Niektorych Tak Zwane Brazach Syro-Hetyskich," *Archaeologia*, I, Breslau, 1947, 209–212. See also H. Seyrig, "Statuettes trouvées dans les montagnes du Liban," *Syria*, XXX, 1953, pp. 24 ff., Pl. IX, figs., 1 and 2; Pl. XI, figs., 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XII, fig. 4.

[33] Weber, *op. cit.*, pl. 10.

[34] Uvarova, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI, figs. 4 and 5. Franz Hançar, "Die Nadelform des Praehistorischen Kaukasgebiets," *ESA*, VII, 1932, pp. 144–149, fig. 18.

time over a wide area which includes the Caucasus, Anatolia and northern Syria. The group is difficult to identify and may represent an admixture of races caused by the movement of peoples set in motion early in the II. millenium B.C. Vague epithets such as "mountain people" have often been used for this group which seem to have emigrated to the Near East from the northern slopes of the Caucasus. If this ethnic type did not originate in the Caucasus region, they would appear to have been there for some time and, to judge by material found in the Caucasus mountains, not all of them left the area. Finds of objects which may be dated within periods as recent as the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. still have a facial resemblance to the earlier group.[35]

Boots with upturned toes have long presented a problem. Because they are seen very frequently on Hittite monuments,[36] any human representation with such "Turkish slippers" is usually given a Hittite label, even if the rest of the figure is incompatible with what we know of the Hittite style. This type of footgear may be found in regions which have nothing to do with the Hittites either in date or locale. Boots with upturned toes may be found on an Uruk seal[37]; again, a very striking example is represented on an Elamite seal from Tepe Giyān[38]. Footgear with upturned toes, however, is not restricted to northern Anatolia nor even to the Near East, generally. Boots with long-curved toes may be seen on many examples from the Caucasus. They appear on the famous silver vase from Trialeti (fig. 7);[39] the bronze belt from Chodcali (fig. 8);[40] and the bronze belt from Kalakent (fig. 9).[41] None of these pieces is from the Hittite complex, although Chodcali and Trialeti are roughly contemporary with the early Hittites. Recent excavations have proved that the Hittites lived in their old territories for a much longer period than was previously thought.

The stylistic combination of all these various elements in the Albright and Guennol figures—horned headdress, bird-cape, shell inlay eyes, cylindrical torso, rolled belt, easy naturalism of the limbs, and heavy pointed boots—is not representative of the art of Mesopotamia. It suggests a mixed art, the production of a people who may have been familiar with Minoan works and with elements from late Mesopotamian pieces, but who belong to another culture separate from these.

A mixture of art motifs, taken from many sources and assembled out of context may, of course, be found in the artistic production of the people who inhabited the region of the eastern sea coast of the Aegean, and whose culture extended into Anatolia in the II. millenium B.C.

[35] Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 123. The dating of the Kasbek Treasure is disputed and ranges from considerable antiquity to fairly recent Roman times. The sixth-fifth centuries B.C. has been suggested by most recent Russian writers.

[36] O. Weber, *op. cit.* See particularly Carchemish: Bird-headed deities wearing boots with upturned toes.

[37] Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, New York, 1948, I (plates), pl. I, fig. 1/e. Cf. also Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pl. X, fig. 1.

[38] Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London, 1941, pl. XVII, fig. 2. *Time*, *op. cit.*, p. 59 suggested that the boots may have been intended as a combination ski and snow shoe, or that such curved-toed boots would aid a person who walked in heavily tangled undergrowth.

[39] B. A. Kuftin, *Arkheologicheskie Raskopki v Trialeti* (Archaeological Investigations at Trialeti), Tiflis, 1941, p. 98, and pls. XCIV–XCV; cf. also S. Y. Amiranashvili, *Istoria Gruzinskogo Iskustva*, I, Moscow–Leningrad, 1950, p. 29 and plate XI.

[40] R. Virchow, "Ueber die Kulturgeschichtliche Stellung des Kaukasus," *Abhandl. d. Koenigl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Berlin, 1895, Taf. IV, Nr. XVII, and pp. 39 ff; Hançar, "Kaukasus Luristan," *ESA*, IX.

[41] Virchov, *loc. cit.*

There is, however, no indication that they were indigenous to these regions. This combination, or what appears to be a mixture of artistic styles that do not at first seem to be consistent, is not in itself a sufficient explanation for the pair of figures now under discussion.

In addition to those mentioned, there is yet another group of people whose art included features drawn from many cultures. These are the nomads of Inner Asia who, while they often employed foreign craftsmen, infused their works, and oddly enough even those which were done for them by others,[42] with a vitality peculiar to themselves.

These characteristic features of a mixed art and vitality can be found in what was best described by the late Sir Ellis H. Minns as "the art of the northern nomads."[43] This work, as he so aptly stated, was "instinct with life." The wandering tribesmen of Inner Asia controlled a vast empire which from time to time extended from their Altaic homeland to Central Europe. The best known of them were the Scythians who followed the Cimmerians. Even the latter did not march into an unpopulated vacuum when they entered their new domains for the pattern of migration had existed long before. There were too few literate people near enough to remark the earliest arrivals, and the migrants did not write. They lived on the outer fringes of what has been termed "pastoral nomadism;" they were racially and linguistically mixed; their art was acculturate, and their religion was shamanism. It is to these people that we should turn for a fuller understanding of our figures. The shamanistic practices and the mixed art overstepped the bounds of even the broadest ethnic groupings. The nomadic life of the supposedly Indo-European (Iranian?) speaking Scyths was similar to that of the Altaic (Turkic?) Huns. Although the bird-cape thrown over the shoulders suggests the representations of winged human figures, eagle dancers and birdmen, common in the art of the Orient, another interpretation is possible here. The cape is undoubtedly protective, not as protection from the elements but in the spiritual sense of covering oneself, or identifying oneself with the physical appearance of the external spirit, a powerful force usually represented by an animal. The animals of the shamanistic pantheon were frequently shown together with the human figure in later representations of shamanistic art.[44]

Modern research has shown that shamanistic practices of the present day differ but little from those of a much earlier period which have been brought to light by archaeological investigation. Shamanism of the twentieth-century Tungus-Mongols differs in few respects from that of the ninth century, which in turn was very like that of the eighth century. This consistency of ritual is further proved by the earliest extant historical accounts.[45] Material of a later date is not offered as proof of characteristics of the artistic style of an earlier period, but as an attempt to illustrate that the way of life which produced the art was in both cases very much the same.

[42] Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, frontispiece: "The vase from Chertomlyk"; cf. also M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922, "Gold comb from the Solokha tumulus". These works (and many others) were in all probability manufactured by Greek craftsmen, but certainly to Scythian taste. Cf. Rudenko, *op. cit.*, pl. CIX–CXIV, works which may have been made by Persian artisans but were certainly not Iranian in style.

[43] E. H. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1942, pp. 42–101.

[44] Spitsin, *Shamanskaya Izobrazhenaya* (Shamanistic Representations) *ZIRAO*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–145; Smirnov, *op. cit.*, *passim.*, and plates.   [45] Herodotus, IV, 67–68.

The human shaman, often reduced to the head alone, is frequently depicted as being sheltered by his external spirit or familiar (*fig. 10*).[46] A great many examples of these representations may be seen in the works of the sixth-eighth centuries A.D., and later, by the Finno-Ugrians from the Perm distirct in the Ural mountains.[47] The idea of showing the human figure protected by the powerful force of an animal had been present in China in the late Shang or early Chou period.

The horned headdress may recall other forms of cult worship,[48] but in this instance we have a horned, nude male wearing a bird-cape. These motifs, together with the posture of the figure, confirm our interpretations of a shaman engaged in a ritual dance. In the much later works from the Trans-Kamian region of the Urals, we find representations of shamans dancing with weapons in their hands and wearing belts and horned headdresses (*fig. 11*). Frequently, they appear in groups with female figures. The male figures are belted and carry two curved swords; the female figures are nude to the waist, wear a short skirt or kilt, and are empty-handed. Both sexes are usually barefoot, but in some instances they wear boots with upturned toes (*fig. 13*).

A work which displays analogies with the Near East and the Aegean, yet is not compatible with either of them, would have to belong to another cultural group. Once the shamanistic character of these monuments is established, the type of society to which they belong becomes clear. A northern origin for the figures has already been indicated, but it is difficult, in the light of our present knowledge, to do more than locate them generally. A great deal has been written about a series of monuments from the Caucasus which were discovered in the nineteenth century. Various names, chiefly regional, have been given to the cultures which these objects represent. One of the earliest and most comprehensive works on the subject is the eight-volume survey prepared at the turn of the century by Countess P. S. Uvarova and others.[49] Since that publication, the literature on the Caucasus material has become "mass production."

Zakharov attempted to arrange this vast material chronologically, but he did not date the finds except by inference.[50] He listed the representations of the human figure in eight categories, with several sub-groupings. In his "category III" he included an interesting specimen (*fig. 12*) which had appeared in an early publication by Miss E. O. Prushevskaya who stated that it was a "Hittite figure, probably that of a war god or a nature god."[51] This statuette was obtained by the late Professor N. T. Vessolovsky from an unknown site in the Caucasus.

[46] Spitsin, *op. cit.*, figs. 110, 225, 252. Cf. also p. 120.

[47] *ibid.*, pp. 114–120. See the bronze *Ih* in the form of a tiger holding a man between its front paws in the Cernuschi Museum, Paris.

[48] Horned caps of one sort or another are prevail in the art of nearly every period. Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 32 and 59: "...horned *crowns* first appear at *Jemdet Nasr*...". The only headgear, however, which is close in appearance to the ones shown on the Guennol and Albright figures (although it is a helmet with ibex horns, and not a scalp) occurs on the so-called Sāsānian "hunting dish", now in the Hermitage: Cf. A. U. Pope (ed.), *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 212. I have already suggested (*Artibus Asiae*, XV/3–4, 1952) that this piece might be of nomadic origin rather than of Sāsānian workmanship. For a survey showing the spread of another type of horned headdress (in this case deer's antlers), cf. A. Salmony, *Antler and Tongue*, Ascona, 1954.

[49] Uvarova, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, plates; see also Ernst Chantre, *Récherches anthropologiques dans la Caucase.*

[50] Zakharov, *Swiatowit, loc. cit.*

[51] E. O. Prushevskaya, "Drevni Vostochnoie Statuetki – II" (Ancient Oriental Statuettes, part 2), *Gos. Akad. Ist. Mat. Kult., Isvestija* (formerly GAIMK, now IIMK), V–VI, Moscow, 1927, pp. 477–481.

The piece is badly damaged: the head, left forearm, and all of the right arm are missing. It will be noticed at once, however, that the legs of the Moscow figure are very like those of the Albright and Guennol figures; and that although the Moscow statuette wears a short skirt or kilt and not a rolled belt, the boots on all three sculptures are nearly identical. The Moscow piece, while obviously similar to our works, has little of the *spumante* and grace of execution of the latter. Miss Prushevskaya indicated that the Moscow statuette should be dated ca. 1200 B.C. This is a much better estimate than the early III. millenium B.C. and is approximately correct. Her attribution to the Hittite culture, however, is probably erroneous. Zakharov rightly includes this sculpture in the Caucasian group, but he agreed with Miss Prushevskaya to the extent of accepting Hittite influence, and, presumably with her dating, although he did not make this clear. Zakharov also believed the Moscow figure to be a "god of the Shamash or Zeus type," without giving any reason for so thinking.

The posture of the Guennol and Albright figures, the rolled belt, and exposed genitals are features found in many of the small monuments from the somewhat later Treasure of Kasbek (*fig. 14*). The Kasbek figurines wear boots, but the toes are plain, and have either a skull cap or a band around the forehead. There is certainly a resemblance of features. While the Kasbek figures are nearly all ithyphallic, undoubtedly representing some aspect of a fertility cult, they take part in a different ceremony, or very possibly with another phase of the same general shamanistic religion.

We have seen that boots with turned up points appeared in the Caucasus as early as Trialeti (mid-II. millenium B.C.) and continued on to that of the Urals and the time of the Finno-Ugrians in the sixth-eight centuries A.D. The rolled belt was common in Caucasian material, and horned headdresses were also used. Birds as protective spirits were among the most frequently used shamanistic symbols. A group of small bronze figurines, which Zakharov placed in his "category I," the earliest of his groupings, wear a horned head covering. A recent Russian publication produces evidence that the date of these bronzes is prior to Trialeti.[52] We have no direct parallel for the bird-cape and can only infer that it is a protective symbol, or the representation of an external spirit or a familiar of a shaman.

In the twentieth-century folk religion of the Khalka Mongols, who have a long history of shamanistic practices, boots with up-swept, pointed toes are two of the "five conceits" (powerful qualities associated with shamanism", the other three being a headdress (often including a sheep's horns) and large cuffs on the sleeves of a gown.[53] It might be noted here that horned headdresses made from the big horned Asiatic sheep (*ovus ammon*) are now worn only by women, and are important factors in Mongol life.[54] These headdresses were formerly worn by men and have been mentioned in literature of the Han period.

In addition to iconographic evidence which suggests some form of shamanistic worship, and the stylistic parallels that indicate the Caucasus as the correct locale of origin, there is another

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[52] S. Y. Amiranashvili, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 11, and pp. 58–59: "...Horned statuettes found in the village of Artzevanik, in Zangezur District, Government of Elizabetpol...".

[53] Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 24 and fig. 6.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–103, and fig. 62. W. Eberhard, *Die Mode der Han und Ch'in Zeit*, Antwerp., 1946, p. 80.

detail which may prove to be among the most significant for date and provenance. This is the material from which the pieces are made. The term "copper alloy" has been used for lack of a better one. An alloy, however, is any metallic substance which is not a chemical element. The various other minerals besides copper in the two figures may be natural impurities and, thus, in the broadest sense, the figures technically would be of "pure "metal. Mr. Young did not list the percentages of elements found in the Albright figure in his technical analysis, but he did establish the fact that both tin and zinc were absent. The figure was cast in a material consisting of copper and magnesium, with various other elements present. Young stated that this was characteristic of the locality of the ore.[55]

Objects cast in nearly pure copper were produced in many regions. They were not uncommon in Egypt,[56] and they occurred in Syria.[57] Pure copper casting is by no means indicative of a primitive culture or of the great antiquity of the Cupric Age.[58] Tin-free copper castings usually mean that there was no tin or the cost of this element was prohibitive in the region where the object was made. The result being successful, pieces so cast suggest more than average skill on the part of the craftsman who made the casting.

There is one locality, however, where tin-free copper castings (or "bronze", with a "trace to negative" tin content) were produced for a considerable period of time. This region is on the northern slopes of the Caucasus mountains, centering around the modern district of Maikop, an area rich in archaeological material. The various Russian museums which have the bulk of the material from this region have been interested in the metallurgy of antiquity for a long time. This interest in testing the Caucasian monuments for metallic content began in the last decades of the nineteenth century and has continued to the present. One of the earliest analyses was made by Ivanovski and Brandenburg in 1882 on objects from the Treasure of Kasbek.[59] The tin content found in the objects tested varied from 3.15% to 12.76%. The latter approaches the standard for tin content in bronze, and was in a late brooch or fibula which was assumed at the time to date from the Roman period.[60] Copper content varied from a high of 92.18% to a low of 76.46%, with varying amounts of lead and other elements. None of the objects tested which showed a high percentage of tin was typical of the Kasbek style. The latest work which this writer has read is a metallurgical analysis of Caucasian material of which it is stated that "the consistently

[55] Young, *op. cit.*, "...the presence of cobalt, iron, antimony and vanadium as an alloy, often found in ancient copper, points characteristically to the locality of the copper ore...". He does not, however, say of which locality this is so typical.

[56] Alfred Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3d. edition, revised, London, 1948, pp. 228 ff., 247 ff., 542 and chart of materials p. 543.

[57] Przeworski, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* IV, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[58] Terms such as Copper Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age are rather misleading. These terms are arbitrary and may be used only locally with any success. The overlap of periods between themselves is great enough, but the continuation of one period into the next in different culture areas is even greater. What is Copper Age in one culture may compare in absolute chronology with Iron Age in another.

[59] Ivanovski and Brandenburg, *Kom. po Proizvodsty Khimiko-Tekhnits Analizov' Drevnikh Bronz'* (Commission for the promotion of chemical-technical analysis of ancient bronzes), St. Petersburg, 1882. See also I. P. Arkhipov, *Izvestiya Obschestva Lubit. Estestvozn.*, XXXV, 1879, pp. 197–199 and 203.

[60] Ivanovski and Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

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high degree of copper casting without tin is unusual."[61] Finally, the object selected as a parallel for our figurines was noted by Prushevskaya to be "hollow cast in 'bronze' with an exceedingly low content of tin over a core of sandy-loam clay."[62]

An attempt has been made to establish the Albright and Guennol figurines as shamanistic representations. The northern slopes of the Caucasus, near the modern district of Maikop, has been suggested as a possible locale or origin due to the metal content of the pieces. It is probable that these statuettes should be dated during the last half of the II. millenium B.C. They seem to follow Gandsca Karabagh, tentatively dated by Hançar as ca. 1200 B.C., and they are certainly pre-Scythian. The latter may have entered the western territories as early as the ninth century B.C.[63] The ethnic type agrees with that seen on other monuments from the Caucasus. Stylistic considerations preclude too early a date, if Prushevskaya and Zakharov are correct in their estimate of ca. 1200 B.C. for the Moscow figure.[64] The Albright and Guennol statuettes are certainly contemporary with the latter piece, although they surpass it in quality.

The history of the northern regions of Inner Asia remains to be written. We gain only tantalizing glimpses of the people of this area from the monuments they have left behind and from brief accounts written by those with whom they came in contact. One should keep in mind the distinction between broad ethnic groupings and the immensely varied individual tribes of which they are composed. A vivid and complex tribal world is hinted at. It is a society containing much that is familiar in more civilized communities. There is rain magic, tree worship, worship of the sun, of the god of fire and awe-inspiring mountains, with shamans uniting in a fight against evil spirits. It is not difficult to imagine such a culture as this producing the Guennol and Albright sculptures, or providing at the very least, the background which would have brought them into being.

[61] A. A. Iessen, "Prikubanskii Ochat Metallurgii i Metallo o brabotki b Kontse Medni-Bronzovogo Veka", *MI* 23, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[62] Prushevskaya, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

[63] For the early dating of the Scythians see Jean Przyluski, "Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire des Scythes", *Revue de L'Université de Bruxelles*, 42/43, Brussels, 1937, pp. 208–223.

[64] Prushevskaya, *op. cit.*, p. 480; Zakharov, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Neither of these authors gives an absolute chronology. Zakharov merely lists the material in sequence, from pre-Trialeti to the post-Kasbek material in the Caucasus region. He places his "category III", which contains the Moscow figure, two stages after Trialeti. Prushevskaya dates the figure *circa* 1500–1200 B.C. If Amiranashvili is correct in assigning the small bronzes to a period earlier than Trialeti (Zakharov's cat. "I"), then the Albright and Guennol figures (and the Moscow statuette) would be earlier than 1200 B.C.

Fig. 1. Copper alloy figure, *Guennol Collection, Brooklyn Museum, New York.*

Fig. 2. Copper alloy figure, *Guennol Collection, Brooklyn Museum, New York.*

Fig. 3. Copper alloy figure, *Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.*

Fig. 4. Copper alloy figure, *Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.*

Fig. 5. Head of a bronze figure from Syria.

Fig. 6. Head of a figure from Kasbek.
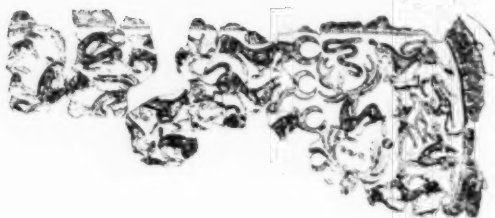
Fig. 7. Silver vase from Trialeti.

Fig. 8. Bronze belt from Chodcali.
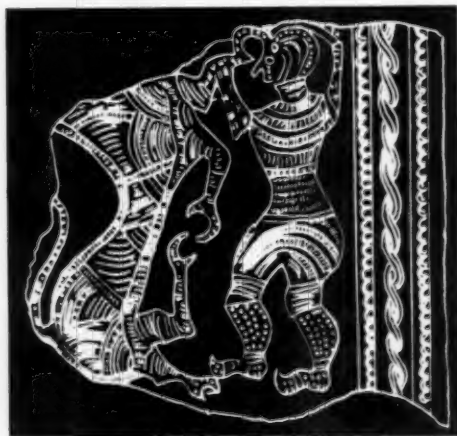
Fig. 9. Bronze belt from Kalakent.

Fig. 10. Lead bronze plaque
from Perm.

Fig. 11. Shamanistic re-en-
graving on a third-century
Sarmatian silver bowl, Perm.
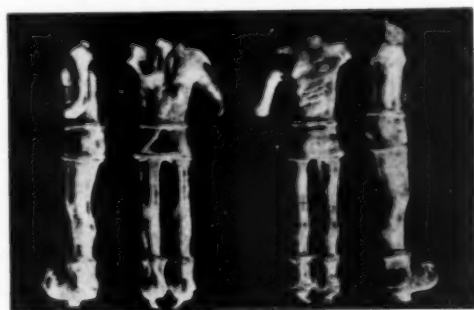
Fig. 12. Bronze statuette from the Caucasus region,
State Historical Museum, Moscow.
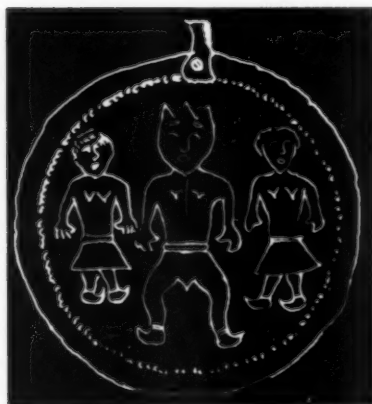
Fig. 13. Silver plaque, found near Perm,
"Gorodische Period."

Fig. 14. Bronze figure
from Kasbek.

Fig. 1. Unfinished Drawing, Pierpont Morgan Libr. MS 640,
fol. 7 vo. *(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)*.

Fig. 2. Initial L of Gospel of Matthew. Pierpont
Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 12 ro.
(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).

Fig. 3. Initial I of Gospel of Mark. Pierpont
Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 64 ro.
(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).

Fig. 4. St. Luke. Pierpont Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 100 vo. *(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).*

Fig. 5. Initial Q of Gospel of Luke. Pierpont Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 101 ro. *(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).*

Fig. 6. St. Mark. Pierpont Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 158 ro. *(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).*

Fig. 7. Initial I of Gospel of John. Pierpont Morgan Libr. MS 640, fol. 158 vo. *(Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library).*

Fig. 8. St. Luke. Loisel Gospels, *Paris*, Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 17, 968, fol. 83 vo.

Fig. 9. St. Mark. *Le Puy*, Library, MS 1, fol. 55 vo. *(Photo: H. Swarzenski)*.

Fig. 10. Initial I of Gospel of Mark. *Manchester*, John Rylands Library, MS 10.

Fig. 11. St. John. *London*, British Museum, Cotton Tiberius MS A II, fol. 164 vo. *(Photo: H. Swarzenski)*.

A LATE CAROLINGIAN
GOSPEL BOOK IN THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY*

by Lucy A. Freeman

Among the Carolingian manuscripts preserved in this country, one of the most interesting and problematic is a Gospel Book (MS 640) in the Pierpont Morgan Library. No thorough study of this manuscript has been made, although it has been cited and briefly discussed by several scholars; no unanimous opinion as to the date or provenance has come from these discussions. Possibly the lack of unanimity has resulted from the characteristics of the book itself, for both its style and physical makeup are marked by inconsistency.

The manuscript has appeared in several exhibitions: at the New York Public Library in 1933–34; under the auspices of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore in 1949; and at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris during the summer of 1954.

Miss Belle Da Costa Greene and Miss Meta Harrsen have characterized the manuscript as Flemish, executed during the ninth or tenth century in a center which imitated or was strongly influenced by the style of Reims, possibly Liége.[1] In the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale exhibition, Jean Porcher agrees with this identification.[2] In support of the Liége attribution, Wilhelm Köhler cites the relationship of the Morgan manuscript with a group of Liége ninth-tenth century manuscripts, among them the Gospels of Notger, a Gospel Book in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and a Sacramentary in Leningrad.[3] This relationship is further supported and analyzed by André Boutemy, who adds at least one more manuscript to the Liége group: the Stavelot Gospels in Berlin.[4] Miss Dorothy Miner argues for the near identity of Morgan 640 with the Loisel Gospels, a ninth-century work in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[5] The date of the Loisel Gospels may be set at ca. 860 A.D. It is a manuscript of the Reims

[1] *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library,* New York, 1933–1934, p. 5.

[2] *Bibliothèque Nationale, les manuscrits à peintures en France du VIIe au XIIe siècle,* Paris, 1954, p. 25.

[3] *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition...,* p. 73.

[4] André Boutemy, "Manuscrits pré-romans du pays mosan," *L'art mosan,* ed. Pierre Francastel, Paris, 1952, pp. 51–70.

[5] *The Walters Art Gallery, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* Baltimore, 1949, p. 3.

school, although it may have been intended for use at Beauvais.[6] Frederick Carey has attempted to date Morgan 640 more precisely than have other scholars; on paleographic evidence he believes the first ten folios should be dated ca. 850 A.D. and the rest of the manuscript ca. 900 A.D.[7] Hanns Swarzenski believes the manuscript dates from the tenth century, and possibly late in the century.[8]

The opinions regarding the date of the Morgan manuscript show considerable divergence. There is a span of approximately one-hundred years between the proposals of Miss Miner and Dr. Swarzenski. The various proposals as to provenance are not so basically opposed to each other, since the Liége style was admittedly under the influence of Reims. However, the localization of this manuscript in Reims would tend to make the date earlier than it would be if it were ascribed to Liége; and the placing of the work in Liége would tend to emphasize the extension of Reims influence, in a very strong form, into the tenth century.

In order to approach a solution to the problems of date and provenance raised by Morgan 640, it is necessary to examine the book thoroughly, not only from the point of view of its style, but primarily, as a preparatory step to any stylistic discussion, from the point of view of its distinguishing physical characteristics as a book. By following this method, the physical makeup of the manuscript will be clarified, and may possibly give clues to the origin of the work.

The text of Morgan 640 includes the prologues of St. Jerome and Eusebius, and the four Gospels with introductory prefaces, capitularies, arguments and breviaries. There are also brief biographical descriptions of the Evangelists, or *tituli*, written in a small script on the illustrated pages. The canon tables, which normally follow the prologues, are missing. The illustrations of this manuscript consist of four full-page initials, one to each of the Gospels, two Evangelist portraits, and one unfinished drawing (*figs. 1–7*).

The manuscript has been collated by me in the following manner:[9]

$$a–b^6, c^8 \text{ (lacks } c^1\text{), } d–m^8, n^2, o–u^8, v^2, w–z^8, A^4. \text{ (See also Appendix A.)}$$

It is apparent that the basic pattern of Morgan 640 shows gatherings of eight folios each. Breaks in this basic pattern occur in the first two gatherings, each composed of six folios, and in gathering "c", from which the first folio has been cut out. Breaks in the pattern also occur in gatherings "n" and "v", each made up of two folios, and in gathering "A", consisting of four folios. The number of folios in the last gathering is not especially remarkable because it comes at the end of the book, but the other gatherings cited coincide with some pages of the manuscript which are most interesting either because they contain the illustrations, or because they contain the early text referred to by Carey. (See Appendix B.)

There are four centers in the manuscript where illustrative material is concentrated. The

[6] *ibid.*

[7] *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition...*, p. 73.

[8] Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art; the Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, Chicago, 1954, p. 38 and fig. 13.

[9] For an earlier collation, see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (nos. 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 125. Morgan 640 was formerly No. 68 in the Henry Yates Thompson collection.

placing of initial and picture within a gathering differs in each instance. The first illustration (the unfinished drawing) is in gathering "b", a gathering of six folios. The first and the last folio of this gathering are, of course, on the same folded sheet of vellum. The drawing is on the verso of the first folio, and the initial L of the Gospel of Matthew is on the recto of the last. Thus, if these two folios were to be removed from their place in the gathering, the illustration and the initial would face each other in a manner typical of Gospel manuscripts. It seems possible that these two folios are actually misbound in the book, and that they should form a separate gathering of two at the end of the material which is now bound between them. No change in paleography occurs in the inner folios of gathering "b"; from folio 8 ro. the text continues straight through folio 11 ro. without a change in the hand.[10] However, it is possible, as Carey suggests, that the prologues to the missing canon tables are of an earlier date; in any case they are written by a different hand. If the difference in date between the earlier and later portions of the manuscript is as great as fifty years, and if this earlier material is restricted to the first gathering of the entire manuscript, then the misplacement of the unfinished picture and the initial page of Matthew seems more plausible than it would if all the material were contemporary. The earlier text is isolated as a unit by the unfinished picture. Moreover, the placement of this page properly emphasizes the difference between the prologues to the canon tables and the introductory material preceding the Gospel of Matthew. The unfinished drawing may be considered a substitute for the missing canon tables. It may have been put in the place usually reserved for the canon tables to mark the end of the prologues of St. Jerome and Eusebius and the beginning of the introductory text of Matthew.

The Gospel of Matthew begins on folio 12 vo., the last page of gathering "b", continues on the first page of the next gathering, and through the following pages. However, from folio 12 vo. to folio 13 ro. there is a change of hand, clearly discernible in the use of a darker, more purple ink on folio 12 vo. Although both pages are ruled with twenty-one lines, folio 12 vo. actually has twenty-two lines of script. It would seem that folio 12 is joined in a rather makeshift manner to the next gathering, especially since for some reason the original first folio of gathering "c" has been cut off almost to the binding and the remaining fragment glued to the verso of the preceding folio. Most of the material which was written on the lost folio has been rewritten on the present folio 12 vo., and the remaining portion appears on folio 12 ro., incorporated into the design of the Matthew initial page. It must be concluded that the reason for discarding the original first folio of gathering "c", and for the subsequent adjustments on the last folio of gathering "b", was the desire to incorporate the Matthew initial page into the manuscript. This page must be the substitute for a page which was originally left blank.

The initial I of the Gospel of St. Mark marks the second center of illustrative material in Morgan 640, but the Evangelist portrait is missing. It is interesting, however, that the placing of the initial in the middle of the gathering seems to be connected with the lack of a correspond-

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[10] Frederick Carey (*The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition...*, p. 73) believes the change in script takes place after folio 10 rather than folio 11. Therefore, the portion of the manuscript which he believes to have been written about 850 A. D. would end before the end of gathering "b".

ing Evangelist. The introductory text preceding Mark ends on folio 63 vo., exactly half-way through the gathering. In order to preserve the familiar sequence of illustration to the left and initial to the right, and to place both illustration and initial in the same gathering, the artist of the Luke sequence left a blank page at the end of gathering "m", and also left blank the first page of the next gathering. On the other hand, here in the Mark sequence, there is really no room for an Evangelist portrait if the usual arrangement of having the Evangelist face the initial is to be followed.

In the section which contains the beginning of the Gospel of St. Luke, there is both an Evangelist portrait and, on the page facing it, an initial Q. The portrait and the initial are on the inner portions of a single folded leaf (that is, a gathering of two folios) and are preceded by three blank pages—the recto of the first folio of the gathering, and the recto and verso of the last folio of the preceding gathering. This arrangement would be similar to that of the corresponding pages of the Gospel of Matthew, had the latter been placed in the proper order, but it differs radically from the arrangement of the Gospel of Mark discussed in the preceding paragraph.

A third arrangement of the portrait-initial sequence is found at the beginning of the Gospel of St. John. Although the portrait and the initial are in a gathering of only two folios, as in the Luke sequence, they are on the recto and the verso of the first page of the gathering. There is no possible way of re-folding the gathering so as to have the picture face the initial. The second folio of this gathering contains the beginning of the Gospel, but the hand changes in the gathering which follows. In gathering "u", which precedes the one containing the picture and initial, the last folio is blank, except that on the verso, at the bottom of the page, there is the beginning of the description of John. This *titulus* continues on the page which actually has the Evangelist portrait.

Of the four areas in the manuscript which contain a picture or initial, or both, the beginning of the Gospel of St. John is the most problematic. If there seem to be two major schemes followed in the manuscript—the first (in Matthew and Luke) having an Evangelist picture and an initial; the second (in Mark) having an initial alone—the John portrait is atypical with respect to both schemes. First, the arrangement of picture and initial differs in that it is back to back rather than face to face. Second, the *titulus* at the bottom of the last page of the preceding gathering calls for a picture above it, but this is found instead on the next page. Finally, the picture itself illustrates the "wrong" Evangelist. The Gospel is that of St. John; the *titulus* refers to St. John; but the portrait is that of St. Mark since a lion appears in the picture.[11]

The tituli, which are written in a small, loosely regulated script and accompany the beginning

[11] Hanns Swarzenski ("The Xanten Purple Leaf and the Carolingian Renaissance," *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1940, p. 23, f. n. 70) cites this Evangelist as the only western example where the eagle is replaced by the lion symbol given to John in a redaction of the Gospels earlier than St. Jerome's. But the unique nature of this occurrence and the similarity of the Evangelist in every other way to contemporary and standard Evangelist portraits, makes it more probable that the portrait was not consciously painted in the early tradition cited by Swarzenski. The use of the lion which identifies the Evangelist as St. Mark was a mistake—one, however, which is more plausible because in the early tradition St. John was associated with St. Mark's present attribute.

of each Gospel, give further evidence of the problematic and makeshift character of the whole manuscript. The first is on the page with the unfinished drawing (*fig. 1*). It describes Matthew and his symbol, although, as will be shown presently, the drawing does not depict Matthew at all. The *titulus* for Mark (*fig. 3*) is placed at the top of the initial, but there is no picture. In the Luke sequence, the *titulus* is in the expected position on the page with the portrait of the Evangelist (*fig. 4*). The place of the *titulus* in the John sequence has already been discussed; the writing is found both on the blank page preceding the portrait and on the portrait-page itself (*fig. 6*). The Evangelist portrayed, however, is Mark.

The loose character of the script in these *tituli* suggests that they may be interpreted either as a notation or instruction to the illuminator, or as an explanation or gloss of the picture. However, the chief effect of the *tituli* is to impose a stamp of uniformity on the manuscript and thus it seems more probable that they are finishing touches rather than preliminary instructions. The explanatory function of the *tituli* may be seen most clearly in the Luke page where it is apparent that when the *titulus* was written the frame of the Evangelist portrait already existed. The *titulus* contains four lines of description, the last two of which are squeezed into a comparatively small space. Not only are the last two lines closer together than the first two, but each one is extended into the margin. The reason for these irregularities must be that when the *titulus* was written, the scribe miscalculated the amount of space needed. This miscalculation of course could not have occurred had not the frame been already painted on the page.

The arrangement of the *titulus* in the John sequence is more difficult to explain. The existence of a description at the bottom of a blank page seems to show that such descriptions were written before the portraits were painted. On the other hand, the continuation of the description across the top of the next page shows that the portrait must have been completed before the description written above it; otherwise, the *titulus* could have been finished at the bottom of the page on which it was started.

Of all the elements in this manuscript, the series of full-page initials seem to be the most homogenous. The basic forms of the initials have a remarkable unity. All are painted of thin, double bands of gold over a green ground, with interlace terminals and small panels of brown within the gold bands. The small panels also have interlace patterns formed by hairlines of the cream-colored vellum background. Another characteristic feature of the initials is a rinceau pattern which appears as an integral part of the IN of the Gospel of John and is set next to the initial L of the Gospel of Matthew. Typical of all initials is a great restraint and elegance. Although interlace terminals and rinceau patterns are used, they are completely assimilated into the homogeneous golden ribbon of the entire initial and retain none of their latent animal or foliate propensities. These qualities are seen not only in each initial, but even as an ensemble there is a delicate balance of a few carefully restricted motifs.

Within this general harmony, however, the intitial I of the Gospel of John (*fig. 7*) has certain features which set it apart somewhat from the rest of the group. It is, for example, of smaller size than the others—approximately 5/8" shorter in over-all length than the comparable initial I from the Gospel of Mark (*fig. 3*). Moreover, the initial for John is outlined in light brown ink

rather than in the red used for the outlines of the other initials. It may be supposed that this initial is the work of an artist other than the one who painted the first three initials of the manuscript.

Three of the four initials are framed. The frames are simple rectangles with red outlines surrounding thin gold bands on one or both edges. The frames of the Matthew and Mark initials were painted after the initials and are, in part, broken by the initials (*figs. 2* and *3*). But the frame of the John initial and the initial itself seem to have been planned and executed as a unit. The gold portion of the frame has been outlined first in the same brown ink used in the outline of the initial, and the red band around the outer edge of the frame has also been ruled with a fine, red line and then filled in. This practice differs from the one used in constructing the frame on the Matthew and Mark pages where the red bands around the frame are drawn "freehand", using as guides only the page rulings. It would seem that the frames of these initials were painted in order to conform the appearance of the two pages with that of the John initial page. The rinceau pattern on the Matthew page may have been painted at the same time as the frame. However, the reason for the lack of a corresponding frame on the Luke initial page (*fig. 5*) remains open to speculation.

Beside the addition of a simple rectangular frame, the Matthew initial page was further altered, perhaps when the book was being bound, by painting decorative red spikes diagonally at each corner of the frame. At the same time, the words IHU XPI. FILLI DD. FILLI ABRAHAM. were added in uncial script at the bottom of the page within the frame. The color of the word "Abraham" is green, a color not found elsewhere in the book. The conjunction of the change on the initial page with the extra line of script on the verso of this page, the change in hand from the verso to the first page of the next gathering, and the cutting off of the original first page of the next gathering, seem to show that the various parts of this manuscript were never originally planned for each other.

The three pictures in Morgan 640 stand as final proof of the composite character of the manuscript. Whereas the initials form a comparatively homogeneous group, the pictures differ completely from one another. The page with the Matthew *titulus* contains an unfinished line drawing of a figure whose be-ribboned cap and scraggly beard have no resemblance to the usual Carolingian type of Evangelist (*fig. 1*). It is probably not a drawing of St. Matthew at all, although the position of the shoulder, arms and hands on the fragmentary outline of a book perhaps reflects a classical author type. The execution of this drawing is unlike that of the other portraits; the ink used in the figure and double-line frame is a darker brown; and the line is nervous and fuzzy; no wash is used; darker areas, such as the hair, are indicated by strokes drawn more closely together.

The brown ink-and-wash painting of Luke (*fig. 4*) is completely different from the unfinished drawing. It is the only picture in the manuscript in which touches of gold are used. The line is forceful and suave, not ragged as in the "Matthew" drawing; the suggestion of volume and weight in the figure is aided by wash modeling on the body and by cast shadows behind the body. Although smoothly drawn, the figure communicates to the beholder a quality of intensity which is produced by the position of the body, the extremely long, outstretched neck, the point-

ed chin, live curled hair as well as by the expression on the face with its wide open eyes, sharp, heavy eyebrows and jutting nose.

In contrast to the beautiful and highly accomplished painting of Luke, the painting of Mark (*fig. 6*) seems pedestrian. The linear technique of the artist of the Mark results in a figure which has less volume than the Luke, one in which even the washes are laid down as a sequence of lines. The objects in the composition are all moved up to the lower edge of the frame, and the background is disengaged from the foreground. So different are the Luke and Mark that they must be the products of two different artists.

There are many aspects of this manuscript which are combined in a manner completely lacking in uniformity—the unusual collation with inserted gatherings, misplaced folios and pages cut off, the inexplicable blank pages, the inappropriate pictures, the diverse styles of illumination—and yet, an attempt can be made to give the book a unified "personality" by reconstructing the compilation procedure and by placing it in its stylistic context. A tentative reconstruction of the compilation procedure of the manuscript may be submitted as the first step in this direction.

Morgan 640 consists of four separate components which have been joined together. The juxtaposition and intermingling of the original components required adjustments and the addition of further material to complete the book. The original components—those which existed when the idea of combining them into a book was conceived—are as follows:

1. Text of the prologues of St. Jerome and Eusebius in six folios (now gathering "a").
2. Portrait of Luke with unframed initial Q, and unframed initials L and I (Mark).
3. At least part of the text of the Gospel of St. Matthew.
4. The initial I of the Gospel of St. John (now folio 158 ro. of gathering "v").

Some comments on this listing are in order. The separate origin of the prologues from that of the rest of the manuscript has already been considered. Because of the changes which were made in gathering "c", part of the text of Matthew must have existed when the decision to produce the book was made, but the entire text of the Gospels could not have existed because no adjustment had to be made to incorporate the initial of Mark. It seems possible that the impetus for combining the various disparate elements in Morgan 640 came from the existence, from the outset, of one of the three pictures in the manuscript at present. It is probable that this was a finished picture, a factor which would eliminate the unfinished drawing. Moreover, it does not seem possible that both the portrait of Luke and that of Mark existed at the outset. Although the portrait of Mark is approximately the same size as that of Luke, the second folio of the folded sheet of vellum on which it is placed was originally ruled somewhat differently and had to be re-ruled when the text was written in. This would indicate that the folded sheet of vellum is different in origin from the Luke sequence, and, moreover, that some part of it contained material which was valuable enough to be incorporated into the manuscript even if one of the pages had to be re-ruled.

It seems unlikely for several reasons that both the picture of Mark and the initial I on the verso of the same folio are of one origin. In the first place, there is the evidence that the sizes of the Luke and the Mark portraits are similar. If the gathering in which the Mark portrait is placed is

different in origin from that of Luke, then one of these portraits must have been painted to accord in size with the other. It seems possible that it was the portrait of Mark which was painted on the example of the portrait of Luke. This hypothesis offers an explanation for the unusual placement of the picture on the recto rather than on the verso of the folio. The initial may have been destined for a manuscript which was to contain an *incipit* page in the place which the Evangelist portrait now occupies. Furthermore, in assuming that the John initial I is one of the original components of the manuscript, there is an explanation for the changes which were made in the other group of initials. Just as the figure of Mark was painted to conform to that of Luke, the changes in the Matthew and Mark initial pages were made in order to conform to the John initial page.

A list of the various changes made in the original components and the additions made to complete the manuscript may now be constructed.

1. Text completed.
2. Portrait of Mark painted on the recto of the folio with the John initial.
3. Rinceau of the initial L painted and initial framed; initial of Mark framed.
4. Folded leaf containing the initial L placed around the prefatory material to the Gospel of Matthew; unfinished drawing begun.
5. Further adjustments made to the frame of the Matthew initial; text added to the Matthew initial page; first page of gathering "c" cut off and re-written on folio 12 vo.
6. *Tituli* written.
7. Manuscript bound.

Almost all the scholars who have examined Morgan 640 agree that there is a close relationship with the Reims style. The degree of this relationship may be proved by a comparison of both Evangelist portraits with their counterparts in an early Reims manuscript such as the Ebbo Gospels, or in a later one like the Loisel Gospels (*fig. 8*), with which the Morgan manuscript has been closely identified.[12] There seems to be no possibility, however, that either the Luke or the Mark in Morgan 640 was painted by the master of the Loisel Gospels. The similarities between the two manuscripts are chiefly iconographic and consist of the repetition of certain motifs such as the curtain behind the St. Luke and the position of St. Mark. But the composition of both portraits of the Morgan manuscript has been simplified; the illusionistic remnants have less meaning in their contexts; and the differences between the two manuscripts seem to be not only those resulting from the individual hands of two or three masters but from different periods as well.

The attribution of Morgan 640 to Liége has been based on the relationship of its initials to those in a group of Liége manuscripts which in general contain no Evangelist portraits. It can, however, be compared with several manuscripts of Liége provenance which do contain such portraits. A comparison of the portrait of Mark in MS 1 of Le Puy Library (*fig. 9*), which may

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[12] Ebbo Gospels, Epernay Library, MS 1; Loisel Gospels, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. MS 17,968. For additional reproductions, see Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pls. LXVII, LXIX, LXXIV.

be dated in the tenth century, with the one in the Morgan manuscript seems to indicate a similarity in date. The Evangelist of the Le Puy manuscript is, however, more stylized as a linear pattern; it seems to have moved further away from Carolingian and Reims ties than the Morgan Mark. In comparing the Morgan Luke with the Evangelist John from another Liége manuscript (*fig. 11*), the broader handling of planes in the latter gives evidence of a style which, even if close in time to that of the Morgan figure, is removed one step further from the Reims spirit than that of Morgan 640.

Similar conclusions may be drawn in a comparison of the initials of Morgan 640 with those of Reims and Liége (*fig. 10*).[13] The initials are closer in spirit to such examples from Reims as the Ebbo Gospels than they are to those of the Liége group, but the thinness of the bands and the simplicity of color makes them closer in time to the initials of the latter. The closely knit interlace filling which is the chief characteristic of the Liége initials is totally absent from the initials of Morgan 640, while the rinceau forms in two of the Morgan initials are not found in those of Liége.

The basic differences between the initials of the Liége group and those of Morgan 640 make it unlikely that the manuscript now in New York originated in Liége. Positive indications pointing to the provenance of the manuscript are few, but the very eclecticism of the style and the complexity of the physical makeup would tend to place the origin of the work in a center as eclectic as Liége,[14] although it was a center which produced manuscripts with different stylistic features from those of Liége. Certain works which Albert M. Friend has attributed to such an eclectic center at St. Denis[15] can be brought into close relationship with the Morgan manuscript. There is a kinship between the Luke of Morgan 640 and the Evangelists on the cover of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran, which has been ascribed by Friend to St. Denis—a kinship which is seen particularly in the handling of drapery as well as in the initials of the codex itself, where a similar combination of rinceau and inorganic interlace occurs.[16] The Codex Aureus is a work of the late ninth century, however, and it would be necessary to clarify the still clouded picture of the centers in the Ile de France during the tenth century before the provenance of Morgan 640 could be definitely established.

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[13] There are additional reproductions in Boutemy, *op. cit.*, pls. V–VI; Albert Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, pl. 20 (Stavelot Gospels), and Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, Manchester, 1921, pl. 27 (MS 10).

[14] Boutemy, *op. cit.*

[15] Albert M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis," *Art Studies*, I, 1923, pp. 67–75.

[16] Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran, Munich, Staats. Clm. 14,000. For reproductions, see Geneviève Micheli, *L'enluminure du haut moyen âge et les influences irlandaises*, Brussels, 1948, pl. 223, and Albert Boeckler, "Das Erhardbild im Utacodex," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner, Princeton, 1954, pl. 178.

APPENDIX A
Diagrams of Important Gatherings

T: text
B: blank
P: picture
I: initial

fol. 1 ro.   fol. 6 vo.
gathering "a"

fol. 7 ro.   fol. 12 vo.
gathering "b"

fol. 13 ro.   fol. 19 vo.
gathering "c"

fol. 60 ro.   fol. 67 vo.
gathering "i"

fol. 92 ro.   fol. 99 vo.
gathering "m"

fol. 100 ro.   fol. 101 vo.
gathering "n"

fol. 150 ro.   fol. 157 vo.
gathering "u"

fol. 158 ro.   fol. 159 vo.
gathering "v"
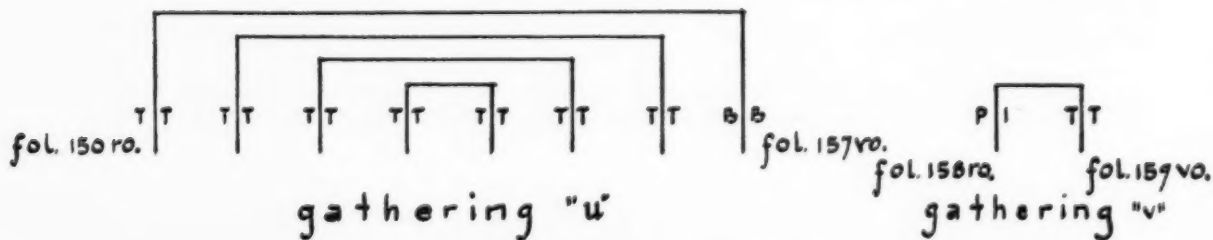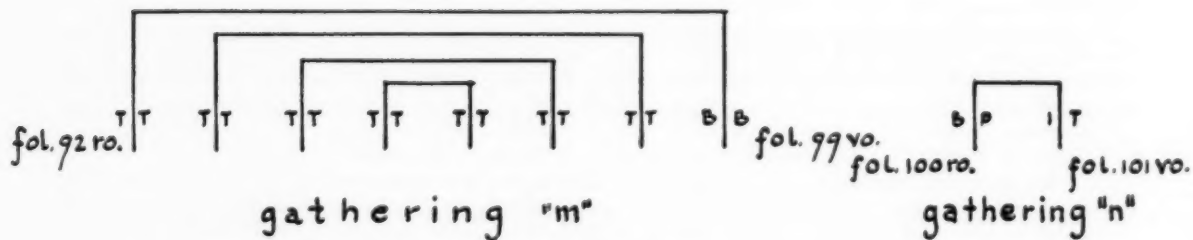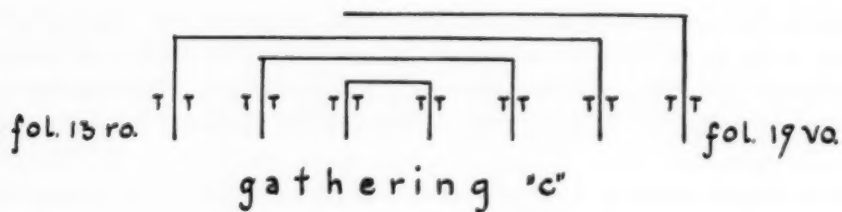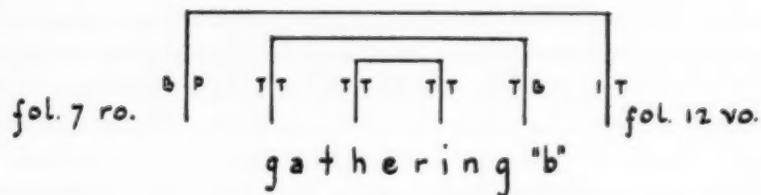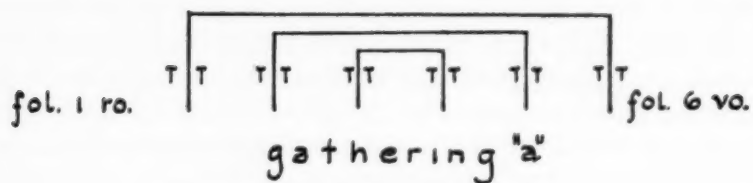
APPENDIX B

Contents of Important Gatherings

Gathering "a":   fol. 1 ro. – fol. 6 vo.
                   Prologues of St. Jerome and Eusebius to the canon tables.
                   This text is dated by Carey as 850 A. D.

Gathering "b":   fol. 7 ro. – fol. 12 vo.
                         7 ro. – blank
                         7 vo. – drawing
                         8 ro. – 11 ro. – introductory text preceding Matthew
                        11 vo. – blank
                        12 ro. – initial L
                        12 vo. – beginning of text of Matthew

Gathering "c":   fol. 13 ro. – fol. 19 vo.
                   The first leaf is cut off close to the binding but the text continues.

Gathering "i":   fol. 60 ro. – fol. 67 vo.
                        60 ro. – 60 vo. – end of text of Matthew
                        61 ro. – 63 vo. – introductory text preceding Mark
                        64 ro. – initial I. There is no illustration of the Evangelist.
                        64 vo. – 67 vo. – text of Mark

Gathering "m":   fol. 92 ro. – fol. 99 vo.
                        92 ro. – 94 ro. – end of text of Mark
                        94 vo. – 98 vo. – introductory text preceding Luke
                        99 ro. – 99 vo. – blank

Gathering "n":   fol. 100 ro. – 101 vo.
                       100 ro. – blank
                       100 vo. – portrait of Luke
                       101 ro. – initial Q
                       101 vo. – beginning of text of Luke

Gathering "u":   fol. 150 ro. – fol. 157 vo.
                       150 ro. – 154 ro. – text of Luke
                       154 vo. – 156 vo. – introductory text preceding John
                       157 ro. – blank
                       157 vo. – blank, except for description of John at bottom

Gathering "v":   fol. 158 ro. – fol. 159 vo.
                       158 ro. – portrait of Mark with continuation of description of John
                       158 vo. – initial I
                       159 ro. – 159 vo. – text of John

NOTES CONCERNING A PORTRAIT SIGNED "GOYA" IN THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

by BARBARA JOAN MITCHELL

One of the paintings in the Hispanic Society of America presents a perplexing problem to those who are interested in the portrait-art of Francisco Goya. The subject of this portrait is Manuel La Peña, Marquis of Bondad Real (*fig. 1*). La Peña figured in Spanish history at the time of the Battle of Tudela in 1808, when he was commander of the 4th Division of the Army of the Center.[1] In the painting, he is dressed as a military officier—a Colonel of the Guards during the reign of Charles IV. He wears the decorations of the Order of Calatrava, awarded only to soldiers who were "hidalgos." *The Hispanic Notes and Monographs* of 1926 and 1929[2] state that this portrait came into the possession of the Hispanic Society in 1922,that the earliest known owner was D. Joaquin Argamasilla of Madrid, and that its painter was Goya y Lucientes. The inscription, *Don Manuel Lapeña, P. Goya año* 1799, appears in the lower left-hand corner of this picture which has been, and is presently, accepted as an authentic work by Francisco Goya. Reasons for the withdrawal of this attribution will be presented in the following discussion of the portrait's documentation, style and epigraphy.

An examination of the literature indicates that the painting was not known, or was not considered to be an authentic work by the Spanish master when Matheron attempted to draw up a catalogue of Goya's work in 1858.[3] Between that year and 1900, when the painting was loaned to the first Goya exhibition in Madrid, there was no mention of it in two books on Goya—one by Yriarte[4] and the other by the Conde de la Viñaza[5]—published in 1867 and 1887, respectively. These books contained catalogues of the portraits, and would, therefore, have provided opportunities to include the portrait of Lapeña. The catalogue of the Madrid Exhibition of 1900

[1] *Diccionario de Historia de España*, II, 1952, pp. 112–13; Francisco Pi y Margall and Francisco Pi y Arsuaga, *Historia de España en el Siglo XIX*, I, 1902, pp. 428–430; Luis de Lacy, *Contestaciones á las razones que dá el general Graham en su papel de 24 de marzo de 1811, pasado al gobierno español, y que circulo despues impreso para sincerarse de los cargos que cree le resultan por el manifesto ó representación hecha a las cortes del general La Peña*, Cadiz, 1811.

[2] *Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Cat. Ser., Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes*, The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1926, pp. 15–17; Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Paintings (16–19th centuries)*, New York, 1929, pp. 247–250.

[3] Laurent Matheron, *Goya*, Paris, 1858.

[4] Charles Yriarte, *Goya; sa vie, son oeuvre*, Paris, 1867.

[5] Conde de la Viñaza, *Goya, su tiempo, su vida, sus obras*, Madrid, 1887.

has as no. 33 a portrait from the collection of D. Joaquin Argamasilla entitled, *D. Manuel Lapeña, Marqués de Bondad Real.*[6] The dimensions given are: alto 2,25; ancho 1,40. The size quoted corresponds so closely to the Hispanic Society's picture (224 x 140 cm.), as well as to that given by intervening owners, that there are no grounds here to suppose that the portrait now in New York is any other than the one known in Madrid in 1900.

Since the Madrid catalogue supplies only the data cited above, we cannot tell if its author was in possession of additional information concerning the history of the painting prior to 1900. The title provided by that document suggests, however, that the inscription was not the only key, as the designation "Marqués de Bondad Real" does not appear on the painting. It is quite possible that the contents of the *Archivo de Osuna* were known at that time, and that the references to a portrait of an intimate family friend, Manuel La Peña, Marqués de Bondad Real, which have since been noted by other writers,[7] were already understood to refer to the picture in the Madrid Exhibition.

The history of this portrait since the Madrid Exhibition would seem, at first glance, to be well-known. The picture has been in the collections of: Count Avogli, M. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, and Prince A. de Wagram of Paris; the Galerie Mietcke, Vienna (1908); the collection of de Montaignac, Paris; Trotti and Co., Paris; the Heilbuth Collection, Copenhagen (1920); and the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris.[8]

Desparmet Fitz-Gerald's *L'Oeuvre peint de Goya* contains the following parenthetical statement: "Le tableau original a été remplacé par une copie d'égales dimensions, exécutée en 1905."[9] No other discussion of this portrait mentions the existence of a copy. How the authors of *L'Oeuvre peint de Goya* could have known of it is not difficult to conjecture. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald states that the painting was at one time in his collection; although he does not give the date, he lists his ownership after that of Argamasilla. By 1908 the portrait had passed through the hands of Prince A. de Wagram and was being shown in Vienna. It is possible, therefore, that Desparmet Fitz-Gerald could have exclusive knowledge of the copy because it was made while the painting was in his possession.

Desparmet Fitz-Gerald's failure to note the present location of our portrait is puzzling because his book was published twenty-eight years after the acquisition of the painting by the Hispanic Society. In the case of Goya's *Mocarte*, which came to that collection three years later than the *Don Manuel Lapeña*, he does note the present owner[10] as well as that of the *Duchess of Alba.*[11] Only because he does not give the location of the *Don Alberto Foraster*, which has been

[6] *Catálogo de la obras de Goya expuestas en el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes*, Mayo, 1900, p. 14. In this discussion, the choice of spelling for the name — either Lapeña or La Peña — has been governed by the context: when I refer to the painting itself, the name is spelled as one word in the way it appears in the inscription; otherwise, I have used the name La Peña as it appears in historical references and in the Osuna archives.

[7] Condesa de Yebes, *La Condesa-Duquesa de Benavente; una vida en unas cartas*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 43, 251; Joaquin Ezquerra del Bayo, *Retratos de la Familia Téllez-Giron Novenos Duques de Osuna*, Madrid, 1934, pp. 43-44.

[8] This information is derived from X. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'Oeuvre peint de Goya*, II, Paris, 1928-50, p. 104, as well as the note accompanying the photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library (F.A.R.L. 13060).

[9] *loc. cit.*

[10] *ibid.*, p. 99.   [11] *ibid.*, p. 92.

in the Society's collection at least since 1916,[12] does it seem possible that he was unaware of the Hispanic Society's catalogues of 1926 and 1929, both of which include the *Don Manuel Lapeña*.

The portrait of Lapeña was purchased for the Hispanic Society from the Ehrich Galleries in New York but, at least for the time being, no documents for it are known.[13] There is, therefore, no documentary evidence to prove that the picture in the Hispanic Society is the same one referred to by Desparmet Fitz-Gerald.[14]

Reproductions of the portrait do not clarify the issue. The illustrations provided by Desparmet Fitz-Gerald,[15] Mayer,[16] and Calvert[17] are reproduced from a photograph made by Moreno which, in order to have been used by Calvert in 1908, must have been made at least that early in the century (*fig. 2*). Although the painting reproduced in the Moreno photo could not be described as more typically "Goyesque" than the picture in the Hispanic Society, there are certain differences between the two, particularly in the relations of the values. The areas in one which are unlike the corresponding areas in the other do not vary in proportion to the over-all dissimilarity of the two photographs; for example, the vest and the ribbon of the military order, while appearing as dark as the jacket in the Moreno photo, are actually considerably lighter than the coat in the New York painting. The features of the face, especially the direction of the eyes and the set of the mouth, vary slightly, causing a change in expression. In addition, the cross of the Order of Calatrava is embroidered on the sitter's jacket in the Hispanic Society's painting; the Spanish photograph gives no indication of such decoration.

A question arises from these observations: are those who have written about this picture since 1905 discussing two pictures—the portrait of the Madrid Exhibition and the copy mentioned by Desparmet Fitz-Gerald—or are they all discussing the same picture? The most reasonable assumption is that the copy is known as such by its present owner, that the picture now in the Hispanic Society is the one discussed by all the twentieth century writers, and that it has merely been cleaned and restored since the time the Moreno photo was last reproduced. This is borne out by the fact that the Moreno photo appears to be the reproduction of a picture considerably darker and dirtier than the New York painting as it is today.

In any case, the solution to the problem of the authenticity of the picture in the Hispanic Society does not depend upon the certainty that all discussions in the twentieth century refer to only one portrait of Manuel Lapeña. Fortunately, there is excellent reason to believe that the picture in the Hispanic Society is the picture referred to in the Osuna Archives. Both Joaquin

[12] W. E. B. Starkweather, *Paintings and Drawings by Francisco Goya in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, New York, 1916, p. 73.

[13] Miss Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, Curator of Paintings of the Hispanic Society of America, has informed me that up to the present time such documents have not been found either in the files of the Ehrich Galleries or among the effects of the late Mr. Archer Huntington.

[14] In a letter to me, Madame Fainsilber Fitz-Gerald, who completed *L'Oeuvre peint de Goya* after the death of her father, stated that she was unaware of the painting in the Hispanic Society. She believed that the portrait discussed in her book was still in Europe.

[15] *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 308.

[16] A. L. Mayer, *Francisco de Goya*, (tr. by Robert West), London and Toronto, 1924, pl. 129.

[17] A. F. Calvert, *Goya, an Account of his Life and Works*, New York, 1908, pl. 33.

Ezquerra del Bayo[18] and the Condesa de Yebes[19] repeat a story from letters of 1812 and 1813 which are among the Osuna documents. The story states that following the War of Independence a mob entered the Alameda and, among other destructive acts, slashed the lower half of the portrait of Manuel La Peña which was housed there. Detailed X-ray shadow-graphs of the picture in the Hispanic Society[20] show evidence of considerable damage extending from the area of the sitter's waist to that of the signature, damage of the type caused by the cuts of a knife. This would strongly suggest that we are, in fact, dealing with the picture which was in the Osuna collection by 1812. Consequently, it becomes unnecessary to untangle its confused history in the twentieth century.

We know that the portrait in the Hispanic Society was in the Osuna Collection by 1812; we know that La Peña was closely associated with the Osuna family in the years prior to that date; we know that Goya painted portraits for the family during the same period. These facts establish the date of the painting within the time of Goya, but they do not prove that it was he who painted it.

It has been suggested that the fact that the portrait of Lapeña is painted on canvas known as "tela de mantel"— the same type of canvas used by Goya for his *Execution of the Madrileños on the 3rd of May*, 1808—is a point in favor of the authenticity of the portrait.[21] At the time, however, this inexpensive, lozenge-patterned canvas would have been readily available to any Spanish painter. Furthermore, there is a period of fifteen years between its use in the Lapeña portrait (assuming that its date is 1799), and its use in the famous example cited above which was painted in 1814. We do not know which paintings, if any, from that period are on "tela de mantel;" we do know of pictures by Goya dating between 1799 and 1814 for which he did not use this type of canvas. Therefore, it is unwarranted to connect Goya specifically with "tela de mantel," and to conclude that its appearance in the portrait of Lapeña is significant.

The Condesa de Yebes, Joaquin Ezquerra del Bayo and F. J. Sánchez-Cantón have examined the Osuna Archives. All three assume that the portrait is by Goya, yet none of these writers mention the existence of any documents pertaining to its commission or completion. Since they do refer to the documents for other paintings by Goya,[22] this fact has meaning. It is probable that they were unable to find any records for the portrait of Lapeña, which is unusual since it is customary for the pictures painted by Goya for the Osuna Collection to be documented. Even the letters of 1812–13, which discuss the fact that the picture was mutilated, mention that the subject was La Peña,[23] but do not give the name of the artist. As far as we know, there is no early document which states that Goya was the painter.

[18] *loc. cit.*

[19] *loc. cit.*

[20] Miss Trapier very kindly permitted me to examine the shadow-graphs of the portrait of Manuel Lapeña.

[21] Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Goya; a Study of his Portraits* 1797–99, New York, 1955, p. 21.

[22] See, for example, the Condesa de Yebes, *op. cit.*, p. 43 where the document pertaining to the commission of the portrait of General Urrutia is mentioned; F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, *Vida y Obras de Goya*, Madrid, 1950.

[23] All references to the sitter of our portrait in the *Archivo de Osuna* are to "Manuel La Peña." The histories cited above also refer to him as "La Peña." The only place where the name "Lapeña" occurs is in the inscription on the painting. Since both Goya and La Peña were friendly with the Osuna family and must have known each other, the fact that the name appears on the painting in an uncharacteristic form lends weight to the idea that it was not Goya who signed the picture.

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The X-ray shadow-graphs made by the Hispanic Society bear out the reports that it was the lower portion of the picture which was slashed. One of these shadow-graphs shows that the cuts extended into part of the area where we now see the inscription cited in the opening paragraph. It is certain, therefore, that the inscription as we see it today was at least repainted in 1813 or later. It is also possible that the inscription was added at that time. Whoever was then in charge of the collection would not necessarily have known the name of the original painter. In the 1790's and the early 1800's, the Osuna family had commissioned artists other than Goya, among them, for example, his pupil Agustín Esteve. But Goya was the most important artist to execute paintings for the Osunas; his was the most famous name. If the painting was inscribed at the time of the repairs, it would not be unusual for it to be signed with his name in the belief rather than in the knowledge that it was his work. This possibility should be borne in mind when, in the discussion of the style of the portrait, we shall have occasion to view the signature from a point of view other than that of the historical evidence.

With the knowledge that we do not possess conclusive documentation for the painting, it becomes clear that its acceptance would rest upon its signature and style. With the knowledge that there is, historically, some reason to doubt the authenticity of the signature, the style becomes decisive. We must, therefore, turn our attention to the painting itself.

In the painting (*fig. 1*), Lapeña is seen from the front, standing with his legs slightly apart. The lower portion of the figure is sharply silhouetted against a beige-grey background. The costume consists of a blue-black uniform and red vest, both trimmed with silver braid, black shoes with buckles, light grey stockings, and a white stock and jabot. A black hat decorated with silver braid and a red cockade rests on lightly powdered brown hair. The embroidered red cross on the coat is accompanied by the badge of the same military order attached to a red ribbon. He rests his left hand on the hilt of his sword, a gleaming silver handle with two sparkling tassels; in his right hand he holds a baton, its point resting near the inscription on the ground. In the background, and to our left, soldiers in red and black uniforms are marching in formation under the supervision of an officer and to the accompaniment of a drummer boy. The maneuvers take place before long, low barracks. In front of this structure there is the slightest suggestion of laundry on a clothesline. The remainder of the background is occupied by other buildings receding in depth, and almost losing themselves in the hazy atmosphere. A few light clouds float across the broad expanse of sky which forms the background for the upper half of the figure.

Beruete, after mentioning the "indisputable originality" of this work, its delicacy, signature and date, goes on to observe that it is considerably more detailed than other paintings of this period by Goya.[24] He suggests that the minute finish might be due to some special wish on the part of the sitter, and that the stiff pose of Lapeña, together with the toy-like precision of the drilling soldiers, may be taken to represent Goya's ironical view of military discipline. The latter is pure supposition and is unlikely because, as we know from the *Caprichos* and from other portraits, particularly of royal persons, Goya has more effective means of ridiculing

[24] A. de Beruete y Moret, *Goya as Portrait Painter*, (tr. by Selwin Brinton), Boston, 1922, p. 94.

people, customs and institutions than by producing an awkward composition. It cannot even be maintained that he wished to ridicule military institutions in general at this time, or we would be at a loss to explain the *Portrait of General Urrutia* of 1798 in which no suggestion of irony can be discerned.[25]

In discussing the *Don Manuel Lapeña*, Mayer had the same misgivings in placing it at this period of the artist's work. He says: "No one would hesitate to date this picture some eight or nine years earlier as it is done entirely in the style of 1790, but most probably Goya painted this picture according to the wishes of his employer."[26] The idea that the unusual style of the picture is the result of some predilection on the part of the sitter is undoubtedly taken from Beruete who was attempting to present a reasonable explanation. The costume and the pose might well have been the choice of the employer on occasion, but the conception of the individual, and particularly the relationship of the figure to its surroundings, both so strained and unconvincing in this painting, were points of special interest to Goya, as we shall see when we compare the picture to other portraits of this period. Mayer believes that this work is more in the manner of 1790 than 1799 because, between these years, there is an important change in Goya's style. López-Rey characterizes the stylistic change which occurs in Goya's work after 1793 as a shift from the rococo emphasis on man as a generic being, to an idea of man as an individual, with a special interest in the "picturesque" or irregular aspects of a particular persons's appearance.[27] In the pose and facial features of the *Don Manuel Lapeña*, however, there is little indication of characteristics of a specifically individual nature.

If we compare the *Don Manuel Lapeña* with The *Duchess of Alba (fig. 3)* painted in 1797, and now in the same collection, we would be tempted to agree with Mayer in placing our portrait eight or nine years earlier than the date given in the inscription. It seems impossible to believe that the painting of the young officer was executed two years later than that of the Duchess. The female portrait is an excellent example of Goya's attention to the individual characteristics of the sitter: the haughty expression on the face, the irregularity of the features, the varied contours, the imperious pose, and the dramatic play of unexpected lights, all of which contribute to the memorable impression of a specific personality. The glowing colors illuminating the figure are taken up again in a graceful landscape, subordinated to the figure, but in complete harmony with it. The result is that the Duchess appears completely at ease in her surroundings. The *Portrait of General Urrutia* of the following year presents a similar harmony. In this case, the figure stands within a rocky landscape which enhances his forceful posture, and which, like the background in the painting of the Duchess, moves diagonally across the picture. The face of General Urrutia is again painted in an outstanding manner, leaving an unmistakable impression of the austerity and determination which must have been the salient characteristics of this man. All of Goya's portraits of this period present the sitter as an individual who dominates his surroundings. The scale is established by a direct reference from the sitter to some object or

[25] Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 306.

[26] Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[27] José López-Rey, *Goya*, New York, 1950, p. 10.

objects in the background, and it is this relationship which gives meaning to each part. Goya does not idealize his subjects by the use of elaborate trappings; he attempts, rather, to stress the unique character of the individual.

Thus, the portrait of Lapeña does not in any way belong within Goya's artistic conceptions of the late 1790's. Although well painted, the body is stiff and awkward, the face devoid of expression. The relationship between figure and background is exceedingly strained, and creates the impression that a cut-out has been superimposed on a flat back-drop. The tension is caused partly by the sensation that the figure and the background have been seen from different points of view. The light has not been used for dramatic emphasis throughout the entire picture as it has in the other portraits of this period; here it is diffused evenly, selecting no special areas for emphasis. The ground is of a uniformly monotonous color, totally lacking the subtle variations of tones which we see in the *Duchess of Alba*, for example. The contours are generally uninteresting, and the lining up of background elements parallel to the picture plane, as has been done with the barracks, is a feature unusual in the work of Goya. In the backgrounds of the portraits with landscape settings, such as the *Marquesa de Pontejos*, the *Dona Tadea Arias de Enriques*, the earlier *Duchess of Alba* (1795),[28] in addition to those already cited, he consistently prefers oblique movements.

At this point, the inscription on our portrait requires additional attention. The letter "G" of the artist's name, which ordinarily is curved ("Ꞡ") during the late 90's, has, in this case, a tail which is reversed and squared ("Ꞡ"), and is, thus, uncharacteristic of Goya. Furthermore, Weissberger observes that the inscriptions on the portraits of Manuel Lapeña and the *Duchess of Alba* in the Hispanic Society are supposed to be written in the sand.[29] He believes that they have been painted by the artist himself, as they are both used as compositional elements. He points out that they are painted in the same color as the ground on which they appear, which substantiates the idea that they are to be understood as having been written in the sand. However, only the inscription on the portrait of the Duchess is convincing as sunken relief for it reflects light in the way an incision in reality would do. The effect of an incision is lost in the letters on the portrait of Lapeña because the entire inscription is inexplicably striped, and therefore unnaturalistically decorative.

Considering the inscription further, we note particularly the date which has always been read as "1799." A closer examination must bring us to the conclusion that the last numeral is far too indistinct for us to state conclusively that it is a "9." It might equally well be read as a "2." Here we would encounter another difficulty: although the picture for stylistic reasons would fit better into the year 1792, that is, into the period prior to Goya's interest in the "picturesque" aspects of his sitter, there are other reasons for being reluctant to place it there or, as a matter of fact, anywhere within his oeuvre. Even in a painting from the late 70's, such as the *Marquesa de Pontejos*, there is already a far superior integration of figure and background, and a more convincing relationship between the two than is found in the portrait of Lapeña. The Mar-

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[28] Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *op. cit.*, IV, pls. 257, 279 and 285.

[29] H. Weissberger, "Goya and his Handwriting," part II, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, Feb., 1946, pp. 16–18.
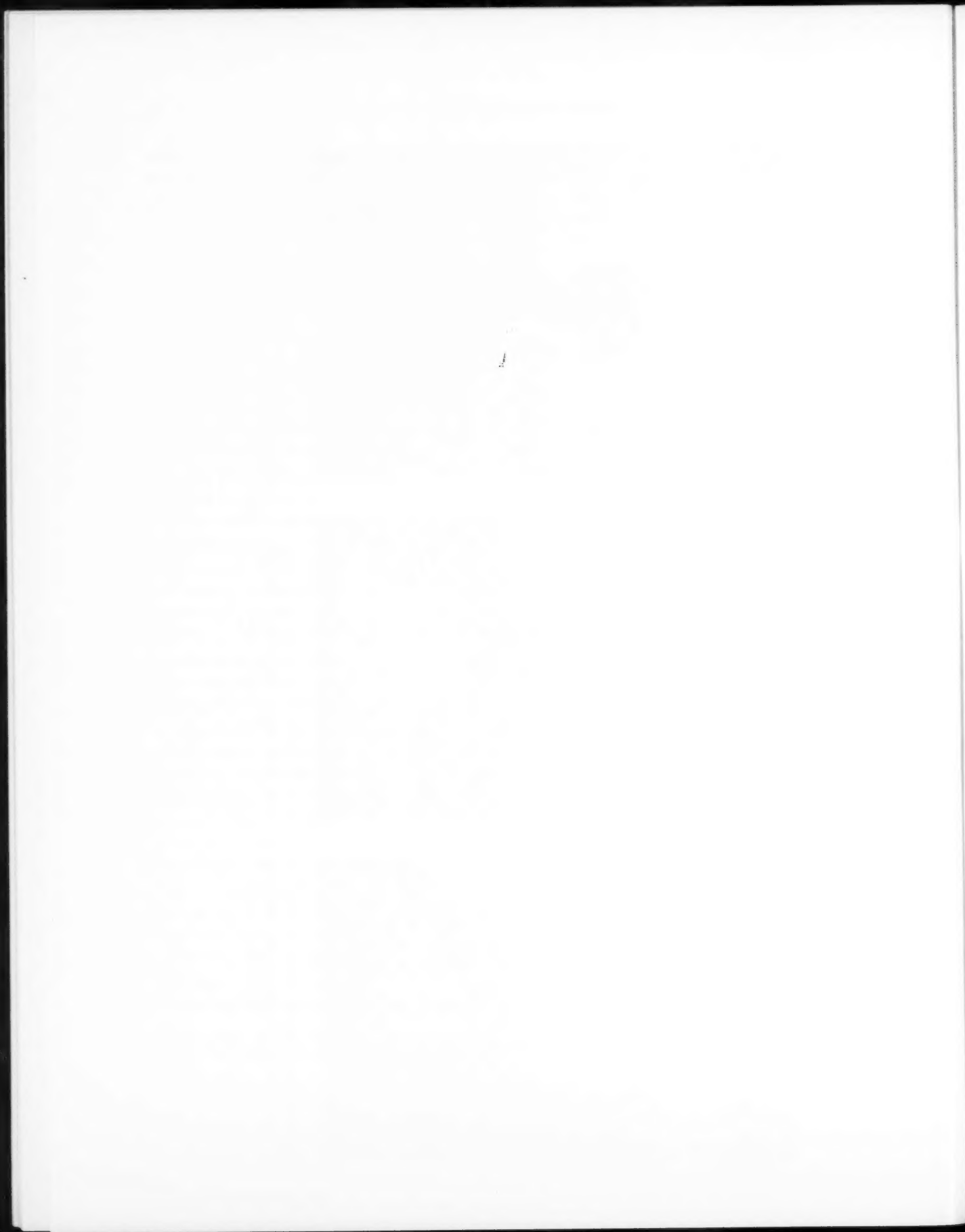
Fig. 1. Portrait of Manuel Lapeña, New York, The Hispanic Society of America. (Photo: The Hispanic Society of America).

Fig. 2. Portrait of Manuel Lapeña, from Desparment Fitz-Gerald, L'Oeuvre peint de Goya, Paris, 1928—1950.

Fig. 3. Portrait of The Duchess of Alba, New York, The Hispanic Society of America. (Photo: The Hispanic Society of America).

quesa assumes a formal pose, but the background is enlivened by its gentle diagonal movements. Thus, to give the Lapeña portrait to the year 1792, it would be necessary to regard it as atypical of Goya's style, and as evidence of a major retrogression in a period otherwise outstanding for its progressiveness.

In connection with the signature, it is relevant to note that there is something of an extremely subtle nature in Goya's inscriptions. Frequently he dedicated and signed his works on an object —a book or a piece of paper—which is an intrinsic part of the composition. In the portraits of the Duchess of Alba of 1795 and 1797, where the inscriptions are on the ground near the figure, the dedications are intended to stress the intimate relationship between the sitter and the artist. In the portrait of 1795, the Duchess draws attention to the words by pointing to them with her index finger. The intention is even more obvious in the later picture (*fig. 3*), where her right hand points downward and exposes two rings, one of which bears her own initials, the other the name of the painter. The word "Goya" appears at her feet and is placed upside-down to indicate that it relates to the sitter and not to the observer.

As we have seen, the inscription on the portrait of Lapeña is similarly placed at his feet, and the observer's attention is drawn to it by the tip of the baton. But what of the psychological inference? In this case, the words do not constitute a dedication to a friend.[30] It has often been observed that an imitator, failing to comprehend the subtle intentions of the original artist, will reproduce forms without understanding their meanings. It is not too difficult to believe that, in his desire to be "Goyesque," the creator of this picture has unwittingly given himself away.

Apparently, the fact that this work bears a signature and date has been sufficient to deter questions concerning its authenticity. It is, however, extraordinary that at least one writer has considered the portrait of Manuel Lapeña to be among Goya's best society portraits of the period.[31] Beruete, who almost raised the question, probably came as close to the solution as is possible. In the pages preceding his discussion of our portrait, he mentions the possible existence of many pictures inspired by Goya, perhaps produced in his studio and painted with like colors and materials—pictures which were thought to be by his hand, but are actually the work of Agustín Esteve, Goya's assistant of those years.[32] Since we know that the portrait in the Hispanic Society is of that period, it is possible that Beruete's idea may apply to it. In any case, the documentation and style of the picture does not warrant the attribution to Goya, nor is there any evidence to suggest that it was in any way based on a portrait by him.

[30] The differences in the meaning of the inscriptions was suggested to me by Dr. López-Rey.
[31] F. D. Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, London, 1948, p. 108.
[32] Beruete, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

A NOTE ON A MOTIF DERIVED FROM
A ROMAN MELEAGER—SARCOPHAGUS IN
A FRESCO AT MISTRA

by JOSEPH POLZER

While visiting the ruins of Mistra in the spring of 1956, I became especially interested in a detail of the fresco-decorations in the Church of the Pantanassa: the scene of the *Raising of Lazarus* (*fig. 1*)[1] executed, along with the other decorations, very likely in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[2] In this particular scene the figures of the two workmen carrying the heavy lid of Lazarus' coffin resemble the carriers of the dead Meleager as they appear repeatedly in the relief-decoration on Roman Meleager-sarcophagi produced during the time of the later Empire (*fig. 2*). In order to make the comparison we may refer to the various examples of these sarcophagi published by Robert.[3]

The Roman figures and those of the Byzantine painter have a number of salient features in common: first, that the figures are oriented from left to right; second, that the one on the right takes a step forward, and bears his burden on his shoulders and back; third, the one on the left stands with both feet solidly on the ground, and grasps his part of the load with both hands, presumably in order to lift it up to carrying position, as his companion has already done; fourth, both figures wear short tunics and are bare-legged and bare-footed.

The Meleager-carriers, are part of a scene which appears on Roman sarcophagi which have been found, and were produced, only in the West, so far as we know. Thus it seems especially odd to find the motif in the Byzantine fresco painted in Mistra.

We may not be so surprised, however, to find it again, as we do, in a probably contemporary

[1] The fresco is reproduced in Charles Millet, *Les monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910, Pl. 140, fig. 3; R. Byron and D. Talbot Rice, *The Birth of Western Painting*, London, 1930, Pl. 34; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting*, London, 1948, Pl. 16, p. 104; Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1925–26, Vol. II, fig. 406, p. 816; André Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, Geneva, 1953 p. 157 (detail in color).

[2] The precise date of the renovation program in the fifteenth century of the Pantanassa is uncertain. C. Millet, *Monuments de l'Art Byzantin*, Vol. II, *Monuments Byzantine de Mistra*, Paris, 1910 (in the beginning of the book under *avertissement*), dates it between the years 1428, the year of the dedication of the altar, and 1445 at the latest. For the sources on the Pantanassa, see C. Millet, "Inscr. byz. de Mistra," *Bull. de Corresp. Hellen.*, Vol. XXIII, 1899, pp. 136–138, nos. xxxiii, xxxiv; A. Struck, *Mistra*, 1910, p. 127 ff., bibl. on p. 151 ff.

[3] Carl Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-reliefs*, Berlin, 1897 Vol. 3–1, Nos. 230a, 231, 278, 283.

work executed in Florence: Ghiberti's "Gates of Paradise." The motif is found on the Joshua panel, in the figures of the two most prominent stone-carriers which appear to the right. To be sure, they support individual loads rather than a common burden, and the space between them is occupied by still another stone-carrier whose appearance reminds us of a dancing Maenad. But the figures in question still correspond with the Meleager-carriers in their poses and relative positions, and since another figure on the same Gates of Paradise is also apparently derived from a type found on Meleager sarcophagi—the figure of a sorrower on the Moses panel[4]—it appears quite certain that Ghiberti borrowed from such an antique source. The latter figure by Ghiberti corresponds exactly to one found on the Meleager sarcophagus which is now walled up in the rear of the Villa Pamphili in Rome, (*fig. 2*) and which was known at least in the sixteenth century, if not earlier and even by Ghiberti himself.[5]

It is an established fact that Ghiberti made use of motifs found on antique sarcophagi.[6] This fact is no historical curiosity since it reflects a normal interest on the part of Florentine artists and humanists in the early Quattrocento. But we lack an explanation for the contemporary occurrence in Byzantium of an apparently direct borrowing from antiquity, and of the use of an antique motif which seems to have been characteristic only of the West.

Possibly the Byzantine painter was influenced by contemporary events in Italy. There were, in fact, connections between Mistra—the seat of the Byzantine despotate of Morea (Peloponnesus)—and Italy, including Florence. Mistra played a leading cultural role in the late Paleologan Empire. We have, unfortunately, no record of artists' traveling between Mistra and Italy during the period in question. But there was constant exchange between the Peloponnesus and the commercial republics of Italy at this time, and reciprocal cultural influences, in particular, between Italy and Byzantium were effected through the councils of Ferrara and Florence in 1438–39. The councils were attended by John VIII Paleologus who was accompanied by leading scholars, among them Bessarion—who later became a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church —and his teacher Pletho, the leading Greek humanist of the age, who greatly influenced the later course of Florentine neo-Platonism, and who spent most of his life at Mistra. It is possible that someone in the cultured Greek delegation became infected by the new antique-consciousness of the Florentine artistic ambient, by the scholarly, humanistic aspect assumed by artists themselves of this period, and that he took back with him drawings of revered antique monuments to Byzantium, even to Mistra, where they might have been particularly appreciated.

Another possibility may be suggested on the basis of what we know about Ciriaco d'Ancona, the Italian humanist-merchant, the first western explorer of Greek antiquities in modern times. He is known to have visited Mistra on at least two occasions, in the years 1437 and 1448. While in Rome in 1433 he guided Sigismund of Luxemburg through the antique remains.[7] We may

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[4] See Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 348f., items no. 46, 49, 50.

[5] The figure in question on the sarcophagus at the Villa Pamphili stands just to the left of the carriers of Maleager (see fig. 2). For the history of this sarcophagus, see Robert, *op. cit.*, no. 283.

[6] See Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 227f., 337f.

[7] For the bibliography on Ciriaco's activities in Morea, see Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1932, p. 336, Vol. II.

wonder if during this visit to Rome Ciriaco may not have made or obtained, among other drawings from the antique, a drawing of a Meleager sarcophagus. Shortly thereafter, in December 1433, he was in Florence, where again a drawing of a Meleager sarcophagus might have been made available to him. Perhaps he visited Ghiberti's shop, and saw work in progress on the east doors for the Baptistry, together with drawings from the antique which Ghiberti must have used as reference material.[8] There Ciriaco might have singled out the sketch which served as the model for the stone-carriers on the Joshua panel, and perhaps copied it or obtained the sketch itself. At any rate, it is not impossible that during his stay in Mistra in 1437 Ciriaco had with him a drawing after a Meleager sarcophagus. It is not impossible that he met the painter who executed the fifteenth-century frescoes in the Church of the Pantanassa, that the painter saw a drawing owned by Ciriaco of the antique figures, and became fascinated by talk of the stranger about the artistic revolution then going on in Florence, and of the Florentine artists' absorption with the art of Antiquity.

The theory of an Italian influence in the art of the Paleologan revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has frequently been advocated.[9] Still I would not propose, on the basis of the evidence of these "Meleagerish" lid-carriers, that Byzantium became at all infected by the peculiar enthusiasms of the Italian Renaissance. The motif in question, after all, although seeming to be of antique origin and being known and used in Italy in the early Quattrocento, was yet rendered by the artist of Mistra in a purely Byzantine manner and was placed in a purely Byzantine setting. The motif itself as it occurs in the Church of the Pantanassa seems to be a curiosity. Its use appears to reflect no fundamental trend of Paleologan art, yet would seem to be of sufficient importance to be brought to the attention of scholars interested in tracing, and attempting to explain, the reflections of Antiquity in later ages.

[8] Work on the panels for the east doors was begun very likely in 1425; the panels were finished in 1447. Since a great amount of time was probably needed for the tedious process of finishing the rough-cast panels, we might be safe in assuming that the preparatory drawings were finished at least by 1435.

[9] For the summary of the theories regarding the Paleeologan revival, see Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 416 ff.
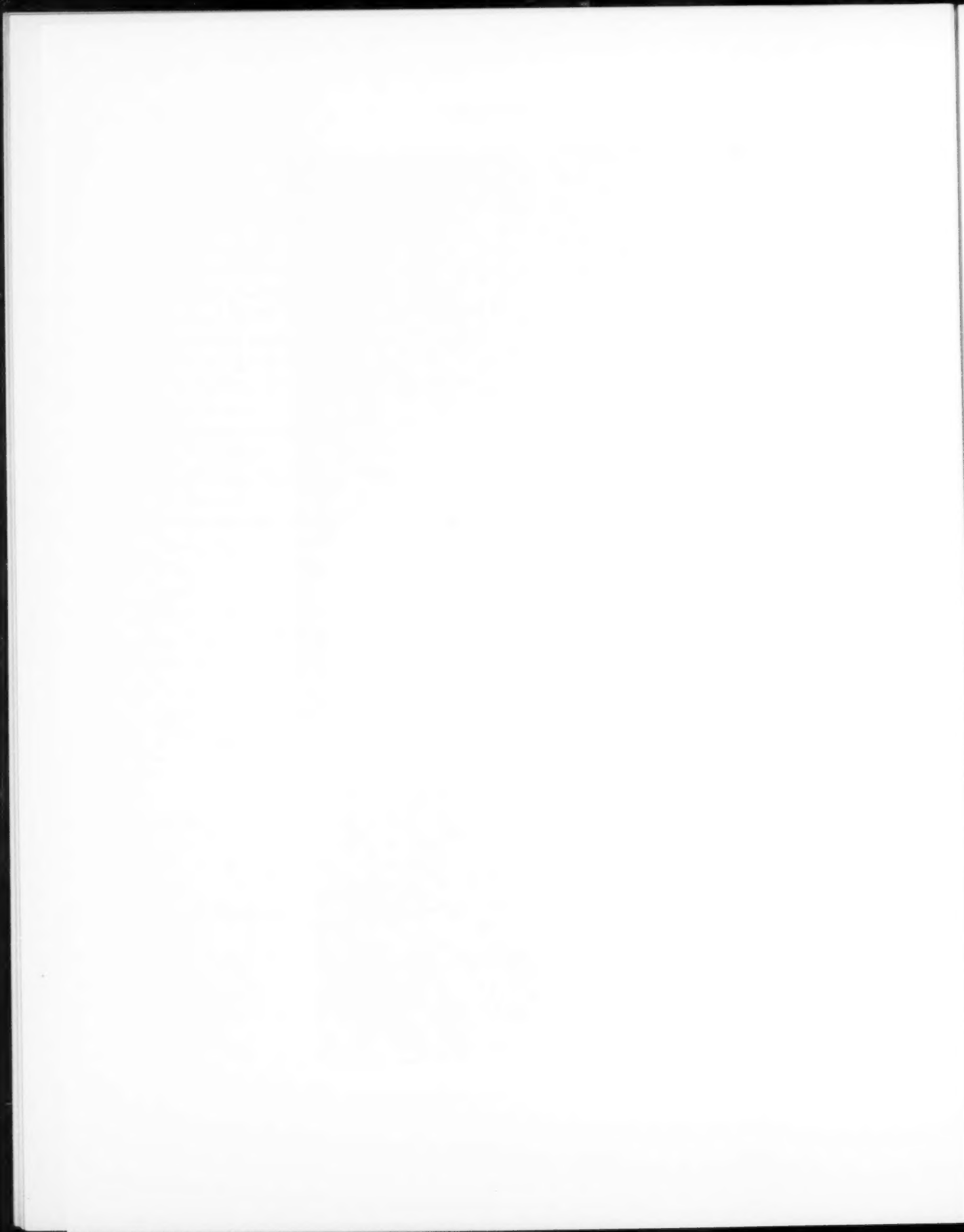
Fig. 1. Raising of Lazarus (detail), *Church of the Pantanassa, Mistra.*

Fig. 2. Meleager Sarcophagus (detail), *Villa Doria-Pamphili, Rome.*

THESES ACCEPTED AT THE INSTITUTE
OF FINE ARTS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
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Rosenthal, Earl. *The Cathedral of Granada—A Study in the Spanish Renaissance.*

Shelley, Donald. *The Pennsylvania German Style of Illumination.*

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Lord, Eileen A. *The Carmons Dynasty.*

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Gilbert, Creighton. *The Works of Girolamo Savoldo.*

Kidder, Jonathan Edward, Jr. *The Jomon Pottery of Japan.*

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Rosenblum, Robert. *The International Style of 1800: A Study in Linear Abstraction.*

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Siegfried, Joan C. *Manet's Style and Spanish Painting.*

Smith, Webster. *A Study of the Book of Hours for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Pierpont Morgan Library.*

Vance, David A. *The Wooden Chinese Temple from Northern Wei to Northern Sung.*

1956

De Egry, Anne. *The Capitals of the Old Cathedral of Lerida (Catalonia).*

Kossoff, Florence. *Lelio Orsi da Novellara: A Study of his Paintings and their Related Drawings.*

Lutzker, Marilyn L. *Attitudes towards Art in America 1835–1855: A Study of Art Theory, Criticism, and Patronage.*

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE WORKS OF GIROLAMO SAVOLDO

by CREIGHTON GILBERT

Designed as a first study on one of the few major artists of the Italian Renaissance on whom no book has been written, this thesis necessarily included an exhaustive compilation of materials, and worked from them up to a critical synthesis.

I. *The Known Person.* The biographical documents, presented in an appendix, are notably few and often ambiguous. They require, therefore, thorough attempts to draw out their implications, while stylistic evidence from later chapters attempts to fill some gaps.

II. *Canon and Chronology.* First specifying the works signed, documented, having early histories, etc., and their pendants and variants, Morellian analysis is used to determine correct attributions and set up a time sequence. The former, but not the latter, had been well done in a previous study; thus, in this chapter the works appear in order of certainty rather than of date. Thirty six paintings and twelve drawings are studied, two paintings and two drawings for the first time, and three new inscriptions of date or signature. Only one painting, denied by critics after prior attribution to Savoldo, was found acceptable. Appendices present a catalogue raisonné and full data on lost works.

III. *The Literature of Savoldo.* The last of the sections organizing existing data reviews the history of criticism in these stages: to 1650 (Sources: 1650–1870) the Dark Ages—the tradition of Savoldo authorship lost for all but about five works; 1870–1900, Reconstruction of the Canon—variants matched, signatures noted, fullest work in attributions; 1900–1914, Minor Phase, scouring of minor collections, provinces, etc., to add works; 1920–1935, Broad Critical Definitions, and growing attention in general books; 1939, the Brescia Exhibition and its echoes. Finally, the current position. Full bibliography in an appendix.

IV. *Savoldo's World of Style.* Based on all the above, a definition of his artistic character. Cima proposed as his teacher, and his general sources as Venetian, but non-Giorgionesque and conservative, in which solid figure is set against open space without the tonal interpenetration belonging to the main Venetian current. In evolving, Savoldo is drawn toward this main orbit and reduces but never abolishes this dualism, making figure and space congruent rather than opposed, yet still separate. Successive modifications involve modelling, space and color. He was influenced by Leonardo, Titian, and Lotto primarily, and has a complex parallelism with northern Italianate painters such as David and Mabuse. Discussion of the ways in which he was "available" to Caravaggio and other later artists.

V. *Associated Iconographic Problems.* Six separate studies unsuitable to the main presentation. Several show dispersed works as pendants, aiding dating and exploring the themes thus represented. Another identifies four self-portraits and their implications. Another surveys Savoldo's preferences in subjects, with unusually passive narratives and unusually active portraits, meeting in the middle.

VI. *False Attributions.* Over 100 entries, nearly all pictures attributed since 1920, with suggestions in most cases for alternative names. This section should help prevent rejection of this thesis on the ground that it should have included such additional works.

The author's related publications include: "Milan and Savoldo," *Art Bulletin,* 1945; "Ritrattistica apocrifa savoldesca," *Arte Veneta,* 1949; "Per i Savoldo visti dal Vasari," *Studi Vasariani,* 1952; "Savoldo's Drawings Put to Use," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1953; "Alvise e Compagni," *Onoranze a Lionello Venturi,* 1956.

THE JOMON POTTERY OF JAPAN

by EDWARD KIDDER, JR.

The term "Jomon" (cord-impression) has been traditionally used by Japanese archaeologists to designate the neolithic pottery types of Japan. Five main divisions, with slightly different terminology, are employed in the Yamanouchi and Groot schemes, although the latter's use of the "Proto-Jomon" designation is hardly correct, since an early form of cord-impression does exist in the Kwanto Plain where two trends develop contemporaneously, one with rudimentary cord-impression, the other with shell-scraped ornamentation. Since these five divisions are inapplicable except in this area, this study utilizes three main divisions based on major developments in pottery making: Early, Middle and Late with a Post-Jomon added in the north. Emphasis has been placed on the Kwanto Plain as the geographical core of the country and as the skeleton of the evolutionary structure.

Early Jomon includes the fiber-tempered, string-impressed and shell-scraped types, and most of the carved-stick-impressed types (called "rouletted") of west and south Honshu and Kyushu. In this phase cord-impression becomes almost constant, and pointed and rounded bottoms disappear. Local developments in north Honshu include a phase of incision and punctate work, probably contemporary with the Tado-Mito phase of the Kwanto Plain, followed by experimental cord-impression, and then periods that parallel or fuse with those of late Moroiso to Angyo of central Honshu. Kyushu presents certain unsolved problems, particularly in chronology, as sites are generally single, deep layers containing one or more types rather evenly mixed; but stratigraphical evidence, at present meager, will ultimately provide secure chronologies. The development is probably through a rouletted phase of considerable duration to one of grooves and incisions and eventually to types that merge with the Horinouchi and Kasori groups of Honshu. Chugoku is closely allied to Kyushu in Early Jomon, but in Middle and Late Jomon it plays an integral part in the Honshu developments.

Most of Middle Jomon is characterized by the extensive use of applied clay in complicated patterns. One result is the diminished use of cord-impression in its earlier phases (Katsusaka and Otamadai), and the substitution for it of incision work (Omori). Added clay designs create surface zoning in Katsusaka and Otamadai and, to a lesser extent, in Ubayama; this is then carried on in cord-impressed effects in the latter half of the period (Horinouchi and Kasori). Angyo is a revival of applied decor.

The last major manifestation, partly contemporary with Angyo, is in the ancient Mutsu area. The Kamegaoka types are distinguished by their burnishing, sometimes red painted surfaces, generally small size, profusion of spouted vessels, and varying degrees of carved and often cord-impressed designs. These are believed to be of a zoomorphic nature and related to dragon and bird designs on lacquer found in Korea, and to Han Dynasty bronze mirrors discovered in Japan. Other relationships suggest a dating for Omori and Kasori around the fourth century B. C., but no clear connections with the continent exist before that time.

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE OF 1800: A STUDY IN LINEAR ABSTRACTION

by ROBERT ROSENBLUM

A major aspect of the complex artistic transformations which occurred at the end of the eighteenth century was the growing importance of line for the creation of images. By the 1790's, this tendency reached an extreme of two-dimensionality and purification of outline seldom achieved in post-medieval art. While this development is commonly referred to in general histories of art, as well as in more detailed treatments of national artistic traditions around 1800, it has never been thoroughly explored on an international basis. It is the intention of this study to offer a fuller analysis of the characteristics of this style of linear abstraction in respect to the common denominators of form, subject, and intention which motivated its diverse manifestations throughout Europe.

As background material, the pictorial reorientations of the 1760's are considered, especially in relation to their emphasis upon contour, compositional lucidity, and gravity of subject matter. The new expressive and stylistic tenor of the 1770's, as evidenced particularly in the work of Fuseli, is likewise treated as a basis for understanding the increasing autonomy of outline as well as the introduction of a more fantastic and personal iconography. Corollary material is offered in a discussion of the renewed interest in antique and medieval art and the particular relevance of publications of Greek vase painting and Italian primitive painting as external stimuli to the development of a pure outline style.

The significance of David's *Horatii* for the isolation of pictorial elements is discussed as a prelude to an analysis of the 1790's, the decade which first witnessed the emergence of linear abstraction in its purest form. The outline engravings of Gagnereaux and the Davidianism of Girodet are introduced to suggest the dual character, erotic and stoical, of this style in France. As a complement to this, Carstens and Blake are compared in order to define the more visionary, anti-perceptual nature of the style outside of France; Flaxman's outline illustrations are examined, especially in respect to their influence both in England and on the Continent.

An analysis of French art is resumed with a consideration of David's *Sabines* and the more radical, archaizing tendencies around 1800, as expressed particularly in the "Primitifs" and the early work of Ingres. The development in Germany at the turn of the century, as evidenced in Runge and the Nazarenes, is looked at in terms of the intrusion of new attitudes towards nature which ultimately effect the dissolution of the style in its purest form.

After a suggestion of the final waning of linear abstraction in the 1820's, a summary recapitulates those features which are believed to unite the various national manifestations of the style—above all, its strongly conceptual nature and its effort to rejuvenate what was considered a corrupt artistic tradition by a simplification of artistic means and a corresponding veneration of archaic sources. Finally, the problematic relationship of linear abstraction to neo-classicism and romanticism as well as to subsequent trends in modern art is suggested.